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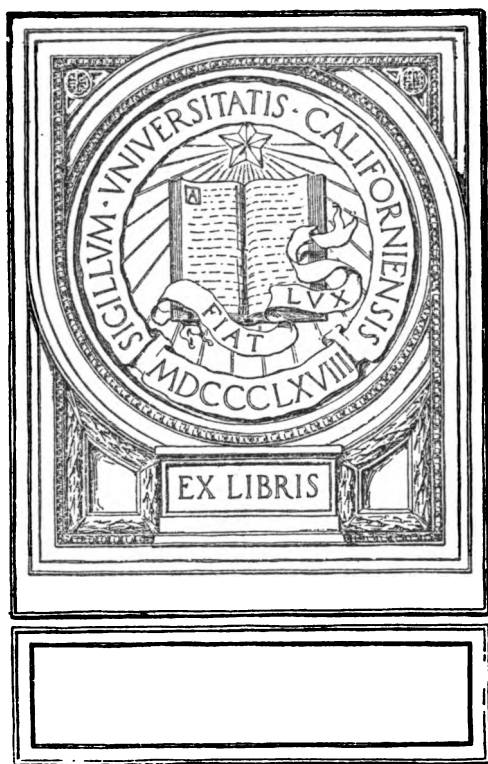
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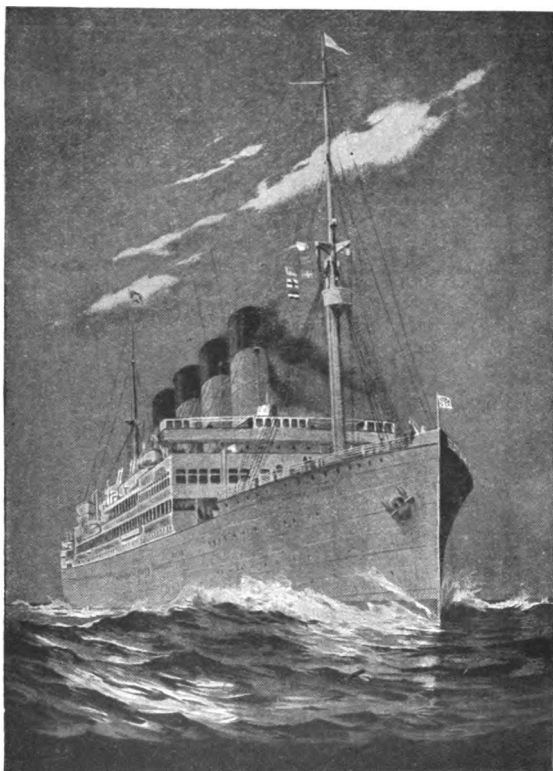
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NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Political and Industrial Conditions, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education, and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. On none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions at which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

BIG GAME SHOOTING IN AFRICA¹

IN reading a paper on Big Game Shooting in Africa I am aware that there are many who are better qualified than myself to write on such a subject. What I propose to do, however, is not to give you a dissertation on record heads of this, that, and the other kind of African beast, or to describe difficult game stalks, the memories of which may be interesting to oneself, but boring to an audience, but to endeavour to give some idea of what shooting in Africa was in the old days as compared with the present time, and to show you some cinematograph pictures of game which are really unique. They were taken by Mr. T. A. Barnes, a well-known African hunter and explorer, who has kindly allowed me to show them.

My early African experience was in the eighties. I landed at Quelimane in Portuguese East Africa in 1887, and for three years was hunting elephants,—any other game was meat to fill the pots only. I went from Quelimane to Nyasaland,

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society held at the Royal Society of Arts on 29th June, 1922. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 61.

going by open boat up the Kuakua River, one of the ancient mouths of the Zambezi, then up the latter and the Shire River by the first stern-wheel steamer built in that part of Africa.

During my three years' hunting I was in Zambezia, Nyasaland, as far north as Lake Tanganyika, and west to Lake Mweru, and the Luapula, and Katanga. They were happy days: plenty of hard work and excitement, and many "incidents." There were then no Governments, no regulations—every man did what seemed right in his own eyes. The rifles we used then for elephants were the biggest we could carry. I had two double 8-bores, a single 4-bore, and a .577 Express. The 4-bore used to generally knock me down when I fired it. I carried only a very small "shepherd's" tent, and had no camp-bed or equipment such as one uses now.

There were plenty of elephants in most parts of Eastern Africa in those days, and my system in hunting was, on getting up to a herd, to get in as many shots as possible at the commencement, and then to follow up running, sometimes for great distances. When young and strong one can do that sort of thing. Of course at that time I was shooting for *ivory*, and although trying always to get the biggest tuskers, we did not despise medium-sized ones.

I do not know any harder or more strenuous life than elephant-hunting carried on as it was when I first went to Africa.

Not many months after I commenced hunting I became involved in a war between the Arabs and Europeans at the north end of Lake Nyasa, which interfered a good deal with hunting, as most of the Europeans concerned in it were wounded. We were joined in the fighting after a time by Captain Lugard, as he then was, now General Sir Frederick D. Lugard.

After some three years of this kind of life I became a Foreign Office official, and thenceforward any prolonged shooting tours were impossible, though I used to generally manage to get a month's shooting every season, north, west, or east of Lake Nyasa. Perhaps one of the most interesting of these journeys from a shooting point of view was an expedition from the

north end of Lake Nyasa to Lake Tanganyika, and thence to Lake Mweru. On this trip I had with me a steel section boat, and after circumnavigating Lake Mweru I voyaged up the Luapula River as far as navigation was possible. I never saw game beasts in such enormous quantities as they were on the flats adjacent to Mweru and the Luapula in 1891-2. Sometimes the plains were black with buffalo as far as one could see, and these great herds were always followed by lions. Unfortunately rinderpest, which passed through that part of Africa in 1893, almost cleared out the buffalo.

Years ago, of course, the old big bore rifles using black powder, gave way to the new small bores, using chemical powders, and having enormous penetration. With the old 8-bores with 3 oz. bullets driven by 12 drachms of black powder, the head shot with big bull elephants was of little use, as there was not sufficient penetration to carry the bullet through the bone to the brain. In more recent times there is no more certain shot for elephants than the brain, and any modern rifle of good penetration will carry a bullet right through the head of an elephant.

In these days one travels very comfortably in Africa. There is no need for discomfort provided a traveller has the means to supply himself with all the outfit, stores and transport he requires. All through the eastern half of Africa, when travelling, one lives in tents, and there is no more delightful life during the dry season than a camping shooting trip.

In West Africa conditions with regard to shooting and game are totally different to those prevailing in East Africa. Whereas in Nyasaland, Uganda, Kenya, etc., one would never think of sleeping in native huts, in West Africa, especially in the Hinterland of Liberia, no one ever uses tents at all. You sleep in excellent native houses in the villages, which are clean, free from insects, well built and comfortable. In Eastern Africa one never has any trouble in getting villagers who know the haunts of game and are eager to accompany the sportsman on the chance of getting meat. In West Africa, on the contrary, especially Liberia, I always found it extremely difficult to get any villagers to go far in the forests; and as to sleeping out, there is nothing they abominate more.

Speaking generally, in the forest lands of Western Africa there is very little shooting compared with the eastern half of the continent.

It is a mistake to suppose that the whole of Africa has been explored and exploited for shooting purposes. There are many districts waiting for sportsmen who are keen on natural history collection and the procuring of unknown or little known specimens, especially of the quite small forest duikers. Even in Kenya Colony there is country which is as yet little known, and I will read you an extract from a letter which I recently received from Mr. J. A. Barnes. Speaking of a trip to the "Great Craters" he says:

"This is a district quite unknown to Englishmen, and about which nothing has been written.

"The great central crater of Ngorongoro 11 x 12 miles in diameter is absolutely a menagerie. I never saw such a sight in my life. It is computed that there are 50,000 Blue Gnu in it, besides Lions, Cheeta, Hyænas, Rhino, Hippo, Ostrich, Zebra, Kongoni, 'Tommies,' 'Grant's,' Chandler's Reedbuck and Impala. You can imagine the crush within one volcano, and the animals never leave it. The floor of the crater is practically one stretch of clover, or such an immense stock of game could not exist. The lions, by the way, are daylight ones, quite an uncommon occurrence in these days of shooting expeditions. Sir Charles Ross got seven in a day or two without the least difficulty, and we shot others driven by the Masai.

"Other things of interest were the Oledonuji-lengai volcano, which erupted during the war, and has not been visited since, and the discoveries by the Germans of gold, diamonds and prehistoric remains amongst the craters."

ALFRED SHARPE.

EARLY TRAVELLERS IN ABYSSINIA¹

PART II

IN April of the following year (1526) the Mission eventually got away, taking with it an Abyssinian envoy and leaving a certain man named Bermudez behind as hostage for the envoy. Of Bermudez we shall hear again later.

The departure of the Portuguese Mission was closely followed by two serious catastrophes—the most serious, indeed, in the history of Abyssinia—namely, the invasion by the Moslems under the Imam Ahmad, which began in 1527 and lasted nearly twenty years; and the irruption of the Galla, which assumed serious dimensions in 1537 and was undoubtedly promoted by the Moslem invasion; for though the Galla did not join forces with the Imam, they followed in his wake and occupied the districts which he had devastated.

The invasions of Abyssinia by Ahmad Grañ, which covered a period of twenty years, came nearer to extinguishing the empire of the remote Christians than any event in their long history, and though the Portuguese forces sent to its relief were ridiculously inadequate, it may be fairly claimed that they saved the country from falling permanently into the hands of a Moslem power. The arrival of the Galla undoubtedly played an important part in the preservation of Abyssinian isolation and integrity, though this may sound paradoxical.

Although the Imam Ahmad during a period of twenty years led his troops more than once from Bali in the south to Tigré in the north, and made many converts wherever he went, he never succeeded in colonising the country with Somalis, who were of a far lower culture than the Abyssinians and of course numerically far fewer. As soon as he withdrew from a province the inhabitants speedily reverted to Christianity; ready, however, to confess Islam on the reappearance of the conqueror.

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society held at the Royal Society of Arts on 29th March, 1922. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see JOURNAL for July 1922, p. 322.

The Rise of the Imam Ahmad.—At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Ethiopian kingdom under King David [Lebna Dengel] was at the zenith of its power. The Islamic country known as Sa'd ub-Din's Land, or Adel, paid tribute to the Abyssinians. When Lebna Dengel came to the throne in 1508 as a boy of twelve years of age, his mother, Queen Helena, really ruled the country, and he did not assume full powers until 1514. His first great success was a decisive victory over the Sultan of Adel in 1517. It is interesting to recall that in this same year the Portuguese viceroy, Lopo Soarez, returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Red Sea, entered the port of Zeyla, the chief city of the Sultans of Adel, and set the town in flames. This he did without any idea of helping the Abyssinians. Indeed he had on board his own ship, as we have seen, the ambassador Matheus,¹ whom he still regarded with suspicion.

In 1527 there arose in the Sultanate of Adel a capable and courageous soldier known as the Imam Ahmad, and called *Grañ*, because his left hand was like his right, who, throwing off his allegiance to Lebna Dengel, began invading the country called Fatagar. The Portuguese writers suggest that he received assistance and arms and men from the Ottoman Turks, who were now in possession of Egypt and controlled the Red Sea. The Abyssinian legend regarding the rise of Ahmad Grañ is sufficiently curious to justify my reading it to you.

"Let us write about the doings of Grañ and the miracles performed by God at the time when the king, Lebna Dengel, reigned over the kingdom under the name of Wanag Sagad. Here is the story of the rise of Grañ.

"In the beginning of the reign, at the close of the nineteenth year, the king, Lebna Dengel, had no enemies to fight. He saw, not only that he had no enemies, but also a very large number of troops, and he gave orders for a census of these to be taken. When they were numbered, it was found that there were 900,000 robust young men, besides the rest, in the army. In consequence, he became very arrogant and boastful; his

¹ Correa, Vol. II., p. 487.

slaves said : ' All this, and of what use? As we have no military expeditions, our horsemen are growing fat and flabby, and we are becoming effeminate like women; so that we shall forget the arts of fighting. Let us divide ourselves into two armies, and fight each other; or, better still, let us pray to God that He may procure us an enemy in order that we may avoid fighting each other.' The king, hearing this, was pleased, and ordered the priests to make supplications, burning incense (twelve loads of it) in all the churches, and singing the praises of the beloved Jesus; in all the churches which were in the four quarters of the earth the priests fulfilled this pious duty. Furthermore, they struck 300 blows upon the earth, saying : ' Let our enemies appear.' The earth groaned, and God heard the groan.

" Just as humility transcends all other virtues, so is arrogance the worst of all the sins. God observing this arrogance caused Grañ to arise. The father of Grañ was Mamad (Muhammad) : he paid, as tribute to the Abyssinian king, 700 white mules : his kingdom was Adel.

" Knowing that God had made him an enemy of the king, Mamad, when at the point of death said to his son Grañ :— ' After my death, do not continue to pay tribute to the king : go out against him and make war on him. God, having made you his enemy, will give you victory over him.' Grañ sent to announce the death of his father to the King of Abyssinia, who sent answer saying : ' I will give to you the Governorship held by your father, but you must pay tribute.' Grañ said : ' I will not pay.' Whereupon the King placed at the head of his army a general named Degal, and sent him to Adel : Degal, having defeated the Mussulmans of Adel and taken much booty, returned.

" Then Grañ arose and followed him, and having, in his turn, defeated the enemy and retaken the prisoners, went to his country."¹

Finding himself in such dire straits, the King Lebna Dengel, some time between 1533 and 1535, sent Bermudez who had, as we have seen, been left behind as a hostage, to beg material

¹ See Guidi's *Leggende storiche di Abissinia*, published in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, anno I, Vol. I., Rome, 1907.

help from the King of Portugal. Bermudez was successful in his mission and left Portugal again for India in 1538.

When the Abyssinian king called on the Portuguese for help, the fame of their Indian conquests had spread to both the shores of the Red Sea, while he had nothing but the name and dignity of a king; his army and his empire had disappeared before the victorious armies of the Imam Ahmad. He fled from province to province, from *amba* to *amba*, accompanied by a handful of devoted captains. The Muhammadans naturally set about a campaign of conversion, and the people often found it preferable to accept Islam rather than to pay the tribute and endure the ill-treatment of the invaders. Monasteries and churches were pillaged and burnt. The clergy alone remained steadfast, and displayed heroic courage in the face of death.

It looked as if all Ethiopia were about to become a Mussulman state.

It is curious to remember that in the early days of Islam, when the sword and the book were sweeping over half Asia, Ethiopia remained untouched. It is quite conceivable that the early Moslems retained a memory of the fact that Abyssinia had been the asylum of these first converts to Islam prior to the Hijra.

But Ahmad was given no time to consolidate his conquests, and it would have required more than one generation of Muhammadan dominion to change the heart of this population, which resisted with such obstinacy the slightest modification of their own rites.

The incursions of the Galla were a very different matter. In the first place they were far more numerous than the Somalis, and they had to deal with a population worn out by their continued fighting with the Moslems; moreover, they brought with them their flocks and established themselves in the best pasture grounds in the heart of the Abyssinian kingdom. Having no interest in converting the inhabitants to their own religion, they ruthlessly murdered all who fell into their hands, and had it not been for the want of unity and cohesion among the various Galla tribes, they might very well have swamped the whole of the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia.

They at any rate succeeded in splitting this kingdom into two halves.

The Abyssinians in their writings account for their defeat at the hands of the Galla by explaining that whereas all the Galla are fighting men, the Abyssinians divide their men into ten classes, of whom nine never take part in warfare. These are the monks, the clerks, the lawyers, the women's grooms, the elders, the agricultural labourers, traders, artisans and musicians. The tenth class is the military, and as they were few their country was over-run !

I wish I had more time to-day to tell you more about these interesting people, who have a language of their own—the most widely spoken vernacular in Abyssinia to-day—a most interesting and curious tribal organisation and a peculiar religion. A very distinguished member of our Society, Professor Alice Werner, has contributed two important articles on the Galla to our JOURNAL, which may be usefully consulted by those who are interested. It will suffice here if I say that the Galla to-day are distributed over the Harar plateau as far as Lake Stephanie in the west and the Boran country in the south; and that they have driven a wedge into the heart of Abyssinia proper in the Wolo Galla country. Nothing is known of their early history, and no one has been able to determine whence they originally came. They are estimated at about 10,000,000 souls to-day, of whom many profess Islam. In their own religion they recognise a Supreme Deity to whom they pray, with lesser gods and goddesses below. They pay much attention to the worship of certain trees, and practise divination by the inspection of the interiors of slaughtered cows. They explain the origin of this divination by the following tradition: The Jews, Christians and Galla had a sacred book bestowed on them, but the Galla, with their usual carelessness, left their copy lying about and it was eaten by a cow, so that ever since they have looked for guidance inside that animal—and always in the hope of recovering the book !

We must now return to the Mission of Bermudez and describe the action which the Portuguese took in response to the appeal from the King of Ethiopia. Bermudez, having been appointed

Patriarch of Ethiopia by the Pope, reached India again in 1538. Owing to Sulayman Pasha's abortive attack on Diu in that year, no thought of an expedition to the Red Sea was to be entertained, and it was not until two years later, when Estavão da Gama had succeeded to the Governorship of Portuguese India, that a fresh expedition was proposed. The two objects of this expedition were—(1) to destroy the new Turkish fleet which was being equipped in Suez by Sulayman Pasha, and (2) to land an armed force to go to the aid of the Abyssinians.

In 1540 Don Garcia de Noronha, Viceroy of Portuguese India, died, and was succeeded by Estavão da Gama, second son of the great Vasco, who at once proposed an expedition to the Red Sea. Estavão da Gama sailed in command of this expedition, which reached Masawa on February 10th, 1541,¹ where he first heard of the death of Lebna Dengel in the previous September, and received here pitiful letters from Abyssinia, to which he replied with words of hope; making, however, no special arrangements for sending an expedition, he pressed on to Suez on February 18th. His heavy vessels were left in Masawa, under the command of his relative, Manuel da Gama. He reached Masawa again on May 22nd, and determined to send an expedition into Abyssinia, consisting of four hundred men under D. Christovão da Gama, his younger brother; and in this number were included some seventy skilled mechanics, whom Bermudez had recruited in India under special written agreements.

The following account of D. Christovão's expedition is condensed from Mr. Whiteway's admirable "Introduction" to his edition of Castanhoso and Bermudez (Hakluyt Society, London, 1902, p. xlv sqq.). Although much abridged I have placed it within quotation marks in order to indicate my indebtedness to Mr. Whiteway's work.

"It was natural that the selection of so young a man by his brother, the Governor, should have given rise to adverse comment; but it would be idle to contend that D. Christovão did not justify his brother's confidence. The work of Castanhoso is his monument, raised by the pen of a faithful follower:

¹ This was the first fleet sent into the Red Sea since 1517.

bold to temerity in action, chivlarous in his dealings with women, ready to share the burden of the common soldier, foremost in the fight, and willing, though wounded himself, to do the work of the wounded surgeon, Dom Christovão stands out through the book as a true leader of men; as the man to whom, when he died, his faithful followers would elect no successor, till they had exacted satisfaction for his death.

"D. Christovão's force was accompanied by the Baharnagash or ruler of the sea, the Abyssinian governor of the extreme northern province of that country. From July to December the expedition halted weather-bound at Debarwa. The position then was that the Portuguese with a small force were at Debarwa; the Preste, Claudius, with a still smaller force, was in Shoa, four hundred miles south, and the Imam Ahmad, with a force vastly superior to both combined, lay midway between them. From time to time communications from Claudius reached the Portuguese, all urging them to join him before fighting the Imam Ahmad, but it does not appear that Claudius himself started from Shoa.

"The negotiations for the Portuguese contingent had been carried on by Ite Sabla Wangel, the widow of Lebna Dengel (who had died in the previous September), and the Baharnagash; the then king was no party to them, he was too far away. D. Christovão's first act on reaching Debarwa was to send for the ex-queen (Ite Sabla Wangel), who was then on a neighbouring hill. The enforced leisure at Debarwa was spent in making carriages for the artillery and baggage. It seems probable that these carriages were sledges, not wheeled vehicles, as we are told that they were shod with iron, and that condemned matchlocks were used for the purpose.

"On December 15th, 1541, D. Christovão and his men, accompanied by the Dowager Queen and the Baharnagash, started from Debarwa. The westerly line from Debarwa to Shoa crosses all the great water systems of the country, and would have led the Portuguese into the very jaws of the Imam Ahmad. After marching for eight days, from December 15th, the Portuguese reached a mountain, in the territory of the Baharnagash, where they spent Christmas. In the next two marches they crossed the river Mareb, ascended the Tigré

mountains between Amba Krestos and Amba Beesa, and thus reached the plains of Dara Takle.

"D. Estevão da Gama had promised that reinforcements should be sent to them, and one vessel under Manuel de Vasconcellos reached Massowa in February, 1542, and landed a messenger to seek for news of D. Christovão and learn his urgent wants, but before a reply could reach him Vasconcellos was driven from the coast by Turkish galleys.

"When the octave of Christmas was ended, the Portuguese marched to the Church of St. Romanos, near Barakit, close to Senafé. After a short rest near this hermitage, the Portuguese marched to Agamé, thence advancing southward until they reached a solitary hill on a plain held by the Moors (Baçanete), where they camped on February 1st, 1542. From there they went to the Church of St. Michael, two days' journey east of Aksum, and after leaving there they reached Baçanete in two marches. On February 2nd the Portuguese stormed the hill and put all the garrison to the sword; their loss was eight killed and several wounded. As a feat of arms this capture was notable; but the queen was probably justified in opposing D. Christovão's intention to attack, for the news aroused the Imam Ahmad.

"All February the Portuguese remained encamped on the hill about two days' journey from Axum, and at the end of the month came the news that a Portuguese vessel had touched at Massowa; forty men were sent to communicate with her, and bring back her lading of stores." [As mentioned above, they never succeeded in even getting speech with her.] "After these men had started for Massowa D. Christovão continued his progress towards the south, marching but slowly, and only changing his ground to obtain necessary supplies. On the way to Sahart news came that the Imam Ahmad was near at hand, and on the Saturday before Palm Sunday (April 1st), D. Christovão pitched his camp, selecting the site with a special care in view of the expected attack. The army of the Imam Ahmad was very numerous; the numbers given by the Portuguese are, of course, mere estimates; they say fifteen thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and two hundred Turkish matchlock-men—they themselves numbered three hundred and fifty, and there

were no Abyssinians of any fighting value with them. The tactics of the Imam Ahmad were simple; he held the Portuguese closely invested, both day and night, and advanced his matchlock-men to worry the besieged, which they did effectually from behind some low stone breastworks. With his supplies cut off, D. Christovão had to fight in the open, or starve, and on the morning of Tuesday, April 4th, 1542, he marched out; his troops were formed in a square, with the queen and the non-effectives in the centre. The square moved slowly over the plain, until stopped by the advance of the Turks, musketry and artillery playing from each of its faces. D. Christovão was himself wounded, and the Portuguese were for some time hard pressed, until a lucky shot struck the Imam Ahmad, wounding him in the leg; when he was carried from the field the Muhammadan force gave way; the Portuguese were too weary to follow, but selected a new camp where some supplies could be obtained. D. Christovão desired, of course, the return of the Portuguese detached to Massowa before engaging again; but having no news of them, and finding that the forces of the Imam Ahmad increased daily, as troops from the more distant provinces came pouring in, he was compelled to move out again, and offer battle on Sunday, April 16th, 1542. This second battle was more obstinately contested than the first; the Muhammadan leader was present at the fight, but carried in a litter, and his followers must have missed the exhilaration of his more active presence; his horse, however, nearly succeeded in breaking the Portuguese square: they were only hindered by the opportune explosion of some gunpowder, which the horses could not face. This time the Muhammadans definitely retreated in disorder, and their camp was captured. In the two battles the Portuguese lost about thirty killed.

"After the battle the Imam Ahmad retreated to a strong hill opposite the straits, eight days' march away. After D. Christovão had been joined by the returning Portuguese from Massowa, he marched to Ofala. This is a district south of Lake Ashangi, and west of Zabul. D. Christovão's selection of a place for wintering showed little skill. He was, indeed, in sight of his enemy, but where he was posted he had

no means of knowing what went on behind the screen of the hills, and this was, in fact, the cause of his destruction. The Imam Ahmad, unknown to him, had obtained large reinforcements from Zebid, on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, amounting to nine hundred matchlock-men and several field-pieces. By the end of August the Muhammadan force was so strong that it could at pleasure overwhelm the handful of Portuguese.

"After the Portuguese were hutted in for the rains at Wofla, [Ofala], a Jew came to D. Christovão and told him of a mountain stronghold, of which he had formerly been the Commander, but which had been captured by the Muhammadans since Claudius had retreated to Shoa. When driven south Claudius had of necessity crossed this mountain, as the only road lay over it; and now, unless the Muhammadans were driven from it, he could not join the Portuguese, as his following was too small to force a passage. It was this information that first opened Christovão's eyes to the extreme weakness of the titular King of Abyssinia. The mountain itself is described as four leagues across and twelve leagues long, inhabited by ten thousand or twelve thousand Jews, and with only two paths giving access to it. The Jew further told D. Christovão that the garrison of the Muhammadans then on the hill was weak, and that he could guide them by an unsuspected access, and that among the booty would be several good horses, a bait that was very attractive. D. Christovão determined to undertake the expedition, and, after providing for the guard of his camp, he started secretly at night with one hundred men; they carried a supply of skins to inflate, in order to make rafts for the crossing of the river Takazzé. The expedition was successful; the Muhammadans were taken by surprise and routed, those who escaped the Portuguese falling at the hands of the Jew inhabitants. The spoil was very considerable: goods and slaves, besides horses, mules, and cattle. It is not clear how long D. Christovão took in returning to Wofla from the hill, but thirty men, with the horses, came on much more slowly than he did. D. Christovão had returned hurriedly on account of his having a presentiment of coming trouble. This presentiment was correct. When he returned he

found that the Imam Ahmad had moved his army from Zabul, and was in position in close proximity to the camp. The following day (August 28th or 30th, 1542) the Muhammadans advanced to the attack, and in the evening D. Christovão himself sustained two wounds, his standard was captured, four out of his five captains had been killed, together with more than half their men, many of the remainder had been wounded, and the camp had been entered. As evening fell, the wearied remnant of the Portuguese escaped up the hill in company with the queen. During the night, however, D. Christovão and a few companions became separated from the rest, and hid in a thicket, where they were discovered at dawn by the Muhammadans. D. Christovão was taken to the Imam Ahmad, who, after torture, slew him with his own hand.

"After D. Christovão's death one hundred and twenty Portuguese, with the queen, took refuge in the Jews' hill, where they were hospitably received by the commander, whom D. Christovão had made a Christian. They were soon joined by Claudius, who was accompanied by a few followers, and by the mulatto Ayres Dias, whom D. Christovão had sent to the king as an envoy soon after he himself had reached Wofla.

"The final advance of the Portuguese began on February 6th, 1543. Before getting far they heard of a force, under the orders of some of the Imam Ahmad's generals, which was stationed at Woggera, a little south-west of Semien; this they attacked and defeated, killing the Muhammadan commander, Mir Ezman. From the prisoners they learned that the Imam Ahmad was only five days' march away, on the banks of the Tzana lake. Pressing on, the rival forces came in sight of each other at Wainadega. The Christians and Muhammadans remained for some days in sight of each other; there were skirmishes, but, knowing the importance of the engagement, neither side cared to risk a decisive battle. The Christians, too, had hopes of the Portuguese under Manuel da Cunha, who they had heard were coming after them by forced marches. In these preliminary encounters Azmach Keflo, who appears to have been the Fitauraris, or leader of the vanguard of the Abyssinian forces, distinguished himself, and inflicted such losses by cutting off the convoys, that the Imam Ahmad deter-

mined on his destruction; he effected it by a misuse of the white flag. This event put an end to the procrastination, for Azimach Keflo's death so greatly discouraged the Abyssinian forces that Claudius was compelled to offer battle before his army entirely melted away. On the 21st February, 1543, the Abyssinians and Portuguese advanced to the attack. The little band of Portuguese cared nothing for the main body of the Imam Ahmad's army: their quarrel was with the Imam Ahmad himself, and with his two hundred Turkish matchlockmen; one of them, John the Gallician, pressing through the throng, levelled his matchlock and shot the Imam Ahmad in the breast; his own life was the price he paid for his success. The dying leader rode away from the field, and his fall decided the fortunes of the day; only forty of the two hundred Turks survived the defeat, but in their flight they carried off Del Wanbara, the Imam's widow, and the treasure he had amassed by the spoliation of Abyssinia. This victory was decisive; Claudius had much fighting before him, but during his lifetime Abyssinia was never again prostrate before an alien conqueror."

E. DENISON ROSS.

ABYSSINIA OF TO-DAY¹

PART II

Customs.

TIME will only permit of reference to a few of the more interesting customs of the country which survive to-day.

From every point of view the most interesting of these are the religious pageants, some of which I describe elsewhere, and all of which are really remarkable for their barbaric splendour, and their historic interest, unique as I believe them to be.

They acquire an additional element of grandeur from being held under no covering save that of the sky in large open spaces in nature's setting. The brilliant sunshine sparkling on the gorgeous vestments and robes of the priests, lighting up an infinite variety of colours and gold and silver embroidery; the coloured and fringed parasols of the priests; the gold and silver crosses, drums and cymbals; the framework of thousands of white-robed soldiery, all carrying as a reminder of the twentieth century their very modern rifles; in the centre the Imperial Pavilion surrounded by the great officers of the Court with their long curved swords, gold-embroidered cloaks and lion's mane collars,—all this goes to make up a picture that is not easily forgotten.

A most interesting custom is that of eating raw meat. This form of diet is preferred to any other by the mass of the population and, indeed, by practically all sections thereof. It unfortunately is the cause of the universal complaint from which the people suffer, namely, tape-worm.

Early travellers have gone so far as to state that meat is cut and eaten even from the living animal. Of this I could find no evidence whatsoever, either as to the present or the past, and the suggestion is hotly denied in the country and by

¹ This Lecture was read at a Meeting of the African Society held at the Royal Society of Arts on 2nd May, 1922. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see JOURNAL for July 1922, p. 327.

most European writers, in spite of the very categorical and detailed instances given by Bruce, who describes two quite different forms of such feasts.

The raw meat dietary, however, is undoubtedly very popular, and it may be of interest if I give an extract from my diary describing a great Gebbur, or banquet, at the Feast of Maskal which I attended, and at which no fewer than 15,000 soldiers and 2000 or 3000 palace retainers were fed in four relays in the great hall.

The Gebbur.

"The Europeans were seated on a raised platform at one end of the immense hall. There were about twenty of us, and on the same platform at a separate table sat the Ras and his principal chiefs; the Empress was close by, hidden behind curtains.

"After we had had an excellent, if somewhat lengthy, meal, consisting of a mixed assortment of European and Abyssinian courses, the white curtains by which the platform was shut in were pulled back, showing the hall packed with long low tables as closely as they could be got in, the tables being covered with slabs of Abyssinian bread enclosing quantities of cooked cut-up meat.

"To the sound of bugles and trumpets the main doors were opened and in poured the chiefs with their soldiery, who had come up to Adis Ababa for the feast from all over the country. The organisation was admirable, and though some 5000 men filled the hall there was no sort of scrambling or disorder whatever.

"They set to work at once on the *hors-d'œuvres*, and then the *pièces de résistance* arrived. Hundreds of pairs of men came in, each pair carrying between them a long stout pole from which hung huge pieces of red raw meat, covered with strips of red and gold cloth.

"These men stood closely together all along the tables and one on each side, so that the meat hung down from the sticks over the tables just in front of the diners. These produced knives and rapidly cut off strips of meat, which they put into their mouths, cutting off what would not go in with knives

quite close to their lips, an operation which from personal experience I know demands great skill if one's nose is not to suffer—as the cut is always made upwards.

“After ample libations of tej and araki (native mead or hydromel and spirit) the diners filed out in perfect order—and the stage was clear for the next party.

“The whole function had lasted more than three hours, and the Ras must have been heartily glad when it was over, for he had previously dined one instalment of 5000 warriors, and two more were to follow—between 17,000 and 18,000 persons in all partaking of the royal hospitality.”

As regards social customs, perhaps that of marriage is the most interesting. This exists in three forms. Firstly, the man selects a bride, and, without any form or ceremony, they live together, he supplying her with small amounts of money in addition to a home and the necessities of life, and when either of them so desires they come to a mutual agreement and can separate as easily as they have united.

Secondly there is the civil marriage of a more regular kind. In this case there is a sort of contract made before the “Mayor,” when the properties of the would-be bride and bridegroom are specified and an arrangement is made as to division in case of divorce, though usually they agree to divide things equally. In the event of divorce, this division is carried out to the letter.

When a woman has been “married” or “divorced” in this manner two or three times she becomes rather a “catch” on account perhaps of her worldly possessions acquired from previous matrimonial adventures. Then if she does not retire from the world and become a kind of nun she often indulges in the third form of marriage. This is a solemn religious ceremony which is really binding, and is as a general rule confined to the better class of Abyssinians.

In spite of the facility of divorce—possibly to some extent because of the mutual power to exercise it—the position of women is not at all what one might expect. They are by no means the hewers of wood and drawers of water that one finds so extensively in Africa. They do little or no work, neither washing nor mending their husbands' clothes nor cooking; all this is done by Gurages or others, who are practically

slaves, and of whom one or more is to be found in almost every household, and even amongst one's own servants—acting as “gentlemen's gentlemen.”

Funerals are accompanied by the usual expressions of grief and lamentation, wailings and beating of breasts, but except for the most important persons no account is taken of graves; people seem to be buried almost anywhere, and the absence of tombstones or other distinguishing indications results in places of interment soon being lost sight of. Indeed, one place of burial near the market place in Adis Ababa is ridden and walked over by the passers-by. This is, of course, in marked contrast to the Moslem practice; their place of burial is very clearly indicated and well kept.

Form of Government.

The form of government of the country is peculiar. It is an absolute monarchy based on a modified feudal system with variations. All power is vested in the hands of the Emperor; all land belongs to him, every man is bound to render personal military service in case of need; he is the supreme judge, pronouncing death sentences and other important judgments, and generally he is indeed monarch of all he surveys.

At least that is the theory of it; in practice it does not quite work out in that way.

When the late Emperor Menelik came to the throne he made one very important change which not only materially strengthened his own position but that of the crown generally. Up to then each of the principal component parts of the country had been governed by an hereditary ruler—an obviously dangerous practice, as history has shown not merely in Abyssinia but elsewhere. Gradually as opportunity offered Menelik replaced most of these hereditary chieftains by selected governors of his own, a practice which has been followed by his successors, so that to-day, with the important exception of Gojam, nearly all the provinces are governed in the name of the Empress by rulers alien to the district. This has naturally weakened the feudal system in one of its main features, has strengthened the central authority, and, most

important of all, has tended to the permanence and stability of government.

There is a great deal to be achieved in that direction still; one could not safely describe the government institutions in Abyssinia as the button on the cap of stability, but it is a satisfactory tendency.

The great chiefs, or Rases, still exercise a great deal of power, as the late boy-emperor Lej Yasu found to his cost when he flouted the religion of the country; and unfortunately this power, though undoubtedly wisely exercised on that occasion, is a source of danger when considered together with the existing dual regime. The Empress is the nominal head of the State, but all business passes through the hands of the Prince-Regent and Heir-Apparent, Ras Tafari, who deals personally with everything, from the negotiation of a Treaty to the granting of a permit for the import of a revolver.

This opens the door to intrigue of all kinds, political, home and foreign, commercial and administrative; for applicants disappointed with the judgment of the one authority not unnaturally endeavour to help their case by appeals to the other. And the results are not satisfactory.

The governors of the various provinces receive no salary, but have to look to the proceeds of the general taxes—a tenth of the production. They have, of course, to maintain a certain number of troops, and to be ready to join the Emperor with a good many more in the event of national emergency. Periodically they are summoned to Adis Ababa for conferences with the sovereign of a more or less protracted nature, which serve the double purpose of keeping headquarters in touch with the governors and of preventing the latter from getting into mischief by too long absences in unfettered control of their own domains.

There is a Council of Ministers, Ministers of War and of Finance, a Lord Chief Justice, the Afa Negus, or "Breath of the King," and other office-holders. But the powers of this Council and of these Ministers appear to be somewhat sketchy—certainly the Minister of Finance is not troubled with Budgets and horrible things of that kind, for in his happy country there is no income tax.

Administration of Justice.

The administration of justice appears to be superior to our own in one respect at least, namely that there are no lawyers. This is possibly due to the fact that their law is even less comprehensible to the multitude than our own, being written in Geze, a language which no one understands except the priests.

Every man conducts his own case, with the help of friends and witnesses, any passer-by can be called in to act as judge, and the venue of the court is any shady spot in the open street. Here one passes numbers of cases in progress daily, conducted with a wealth of oratory and a vigour of gesture that would seem to imply that immense issues are at stake.

But these are only the minor cases; the more serious offences are dealt with by courts, the most serious of all, murder, being reserved for the Afa Negus, and the death sentence for the Emperor.

The criminal code is based on the Mosaic law, and very drastic are the punishments. For theft a repeated offence is punishable by the loss of a hand or foot, the sentence being carried out by a butcher in public, the stump being plunged into boiling fat to arrest the bleeding. Whether the victim survives or not depends, I imagine, upon how clean the boiling fat may be. I am, however, bound to say that I did not witness any case of this sort while I was there.

For murder or manslaughter the penalty is death, and the sentence is carried out by hanging. These hangings are of frequent occurrence and generally take place on trees in the market-place.

There was, however, one rather special case while we were there, where some men had attacked the house of a Greek for purposes of robbery and had killed him and some members of his family. So after strong representations on the part of the Foreign Legations, a trial took place, seven men were sentenced, and seven bodies decorated seven improvised gallows in the market-place. The bodies generally hung there for a few days.

The "eye for an eye" doctrine implies the death penalty

for manslaughter as well as for murder, and it is in fact imposed in such cases unless the family of the victim are prepared to accept blood money. An actual example of this was the case of a syce belonging to the British Legation, who while riding a young and restive horse in the town accidentally knocked down and killed a man. In spite of the efforts of the British Minister he was hanged.

The lighter side of this code is exemplified by the following story which was current in Adis Ababa, and which "*si non e vero e ben trovato*." A man was cutting branches in a tree, and in the course of his operations fell from the tree on to an unfortunate individual who was lying asleep below and killed him. The family of the deceased duly demanded the life of the "murderer," and refused blood money, and the case was brought before Menelik to pronounce sentence. He admitted the claim of the family according to the law, but pointed out that to satisfy the requirements exactly death must be inflicted on the criminal in the same way as that in which he had disposed of his victim. Consequently it would be necessary for the victim's nearest relative to fall out of a tree on to the criminal. The family compromised for blood money.

I do not vouch for the truth of this story, but the decision was surely worthy of a descendant of Solomon.

Confinement to prison is a usual sentence for debt and other comparatively minor crimes, but it is a terrible punishment, for prisoners are not fed, and have to depend on their relatives and friends for their existence in the small and filthy buildings in which they are confined, when they are not working in chained gangs on the roads. And if an epidemic visits the prison, well,—the prisoners' troubles are at an end.

A curious form of procedure is that by which debtor and creditor—and sometimes accuser and accused—are chained together by the hands. They wander about in seeming amity, and I have often wondered on seeing these quaint couples which was which. Both seemed equally cheery, though as a form of amusement dragging a chained companion about day and night would be likely to pall.

The most curious example of this I came across was a man and woman chained together. In this case I discovered on

inquiry that the lady was the creditor, and very voluble she was on the iniquities of her male appendage. The situation must have become strained at times.

Religion.

Religion has played a most important part in shaping the destinies of Abyssinia, and it still plays a dominant rôle there to-day, though the Church, as such, does not appear to exercise any very great power, possibly owing to the fact that the priests and deacons, of whom there are an enormous number, are on the whole ignorant and even illiterate.

Christianity, as I have already said, is the religion of the Abyssinians, but amongst the subject races are very large numbers of Moslems (Gallas, Danakils, and Somals), and of pagans (Gallas and Shangalla), and some Jews (Falashas).

The form of the Christian religion is the monophysite, which was branded as a heresy by the Council of Chalcedon in the fifth century. This doctrine recognises only one nature in Christ against the view which has maintained itself as orthodox that the divine and human natures coexisted in Him. The controversy raised at Chalcedon lasted for over a century, and the resulting disintegration largely facilitated the rapid and easy victory of Islam in Syria and Egypt.

Monophysitism obtains in Abyssinia to-day, the Church there being practically an independent one, its only link with the Coptic Church in Egypt, on which it is nominally dependent, being the appointment of the Archbishop by Alexandria; he is an Egyptian, and once appointed he is never allowed to leave Abyssinia. The only one known to have done so is the present holder of the office, who was sent on a mission to Russia.

The Abyssinians still have a monastery in Jerusalem and monasteries in Libya. Ruins of old Abyssinian monasteries and Ethiopic texts were discovered in the Libyan desert by the German explorer Falls.

The Abyssinian Church endeavours to maintain friendly relations with the other Christian communities; interesting examples of this are the missions sent to the Pope by the

Emperor Menelik in 1906, and by the present Empress in 1921. A mission was also in Jerusalem at the close of last year in connection with some ancient rights of the Abyssinian Church regarding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Under the Turkish regime these rights had been transferred to the Coptic community.

There are many churches, monasteries and convents scattered all over the country, the principal church being that of St. George, the Patron Saint of Abyssinia, at Adis Ababa. It is not an extraordinarily attractive building; it consists of an outer gallery and an inner court, both surrounding the Holy Place or Holy of Holies in which rests the representation of the Ark of the Covenant, and to which only the priests are allowed access. The galleries are profusely decorated with large life-size paintings depicting mainly scenes from the Scriptures, from the Life of Christ, the miracles, etc.

The Abyssinians show a considerable measure of reverence to their churches, outwardly at all events; I have frequently seen them when passing the church stop their retinue, dismount, and kiss the earth. Their main religious observances are, however, their fasts and feasts, which are most strictly observed. They cover about 150 days out of the year, so they are not likely to pass unnoticed; the main fast, indeed, lasts for forty days, during which they eat neither meat, butter nor eggs, and during the last three days nothing at all.

The main feast is Maskal (in September) or the Feast of the Cross, and the performance on this occasion is a really remarkable sight. I cannot do better than give you the following extract from my diary regarding this event:—

“ The ceremony was held in a huge field of about 30 or 40 acres, with tumble-down walls on three sides, and the rambling Palace buildings on the fourth. The walls were lined with thousands of Abyssinian sightseers in their white ‘chammas,’ and hundreds of ponies and mules were tethered all about, looking very brilliant in their gorgeous trappings and gold and silver embroidered saddlery.

“ At one end were thousands of soldiers dressed in white, armed with rifles, swords, spears and shields, forming the

retinues of the principal chiefs of Abyssinia, some on ponies, some on mules, some on foot.

"Towards the other end of the field was the Ras' tent, a large bodyguard grouped around it.

"Opposite to the tent, and close to it, was a group of priests dressed in their gorgeous robes and head-dresses. These opened the proceedings by a quaint service to the accompaniment of rather weird chanting—circling all the while slowly round a tall post fixed in the ground, symbolical of the Cross. The large gold crosses and the silver incense-burners sparkling in the blazing sun, the wonderful colouring of the robes, with the setting of the tens of thousands of Abyssinians all around, made a wonderful picture.

"They read passages from a huge Bible bound in red velvet and gold, and then the Abuna walked down from the tent, read a passage, performed certain rites, and returned to his place. The Bible was then carried up to the tent, presented to the Abuna, who kissed it, and then to the Ras, who did the same, and after him to the principal Abyssinian notables.

"The Ras then descended from his seat, and followed by the priests, walked slowly three times round the post.

"And then the masses of soldiery came into play.

"From the densely thronged thousands at the other end of the field every chief, with all his retinue, in turn galloped and raced to the post, and rode round it three times as hard as they could manage it to a rhythmic chant, finally pulling out of the whirling mass and taking up position on the other side of the field. It was wonderful, horses and mules and men, gold and silver trappings, modern rifles, embroidered cartridge belts, embossed shields, long, murderous-looking spears, great curved swords in velvet scabbards—thousands of them, apparently in hopeless confusion, but all really ordered, organised and planned out exceedingly well.

"There were 'masters of the ceremonies' armed with long sticks, who added appreciably to the general turmoil. For when a chief's retinue took too long in getting round, or wanted to do an extra turn round the post, or got out of place, they hurled themselves into the galloping mass, and belaboured the offending parties vigorously with tremendous whacks.

"One old chief, apparently carried away by the excitement of the moment, galloped his pony right up to the royal tent, pulled up at the very edge of the Carpet, and waving his spear shouted out a long speech at the top of his voice. He was a magnificent figure of a savage with his bristling lion's-maned cape and his barbaric weapons, and looked quite dangerous. Apparently, however, he was merely reciting his achievements, saying he had fought for Menelik and would fight for or with anybody again. He certainly carried conviction."

There are other quaint customs on the occasion of these feasts which are of interest, to one or two of which only can a brief reference be made. For example, at Easter bands of priests arrayed in gorgeous-coloured gold-embroidered vestments, sheltered under brilliant parasols with gold and silver fringes, serenade the principal houses, such as the Legations and leading Europeans. They bring with them grass, which they bless and distribute to the donors of largesse, who in their turn distribute them to the servants. The latter tie strands of the grass tightly round their heads and wear them all day.

Parties of small children, girls and boys separately, also come round and dance and sing, until the receipt of a few small coins causes many deep bows and kissing of the ground, and a hasty departure.

The priesthood, as has been already stated, are exceedingly ignorant, but they are not fanatical, and if left alone and not interfered with are not markedly anti-foreign. They do not go in for missionary work themselves, and are tolerant of the other existing forms of religion in the country. But they do not like missionaries of other religions, which is perhaps hardly surprising, and will not have them in the country.

The Jesuits were expelled in 1633, and some who would not go were killed. The Protestant missionaries were expelled in 1838. Theodore can hardly have been said to have welcomed missionaries, though so far from expelling them he chained them up and would not let them go. King John expelled them again in 1886, and Menelik barely tolerated them. There are practically none in the country now, beyond a

French mission at Harrar and a convent at Adis Ababa, which are mainly educational and non-proselytising.

But the Moslem faith, on the other hand, is undoubtedly making headway, among the Gallas at all events, according to French, Swedish and American authorities who have recently written on the subject.

It would be a remarkable happening if the ancient Abyssinian Church, that has resisted attacks on its faith of so violent a character for so many years should succumb to the "peaceful penetration" of Moslem teaching at this stage of its history.

Education, Literature and Art.

Education may be said to be non-existent, for in spite of the fact that the Emperor Menelik promulgated a decree of compulsory general education, he overlooked, or had not time to provide for, such details as a supply of teachers and schools. There is one school building in Adis, and a Director of Education, an Egyptian, a well-educated and cultured individual with a remarkable command of languages.

But as his flock consists of about thirty children it is to be feared that the results of his labours will not be very great, though that is no fault of his.

As to literature, there is rich store of legend, tradition and folk-lore of ancient date and of great interest. It is mainly of a religious and quasi-historical character, and it is little known in this country. Unfortunately, with one notable exception, we have left the translation of these fascinating works to other countries, and although I do not think that any one has made a complete translation of the Chronicles of Abyssinia as a whole—delightful records of the reigns of their kings from before the Queen of Sheba up to a few centuries ago—yet there are many partial translations of the Chronicles and translations of other old Abyssinian works by French, Italian, Portuguese and German writers such as Perruchon, Conti-Rossini, d'Almeida and Dillman, to name only a few.

The one exception, to whom I have referred above, is Sir E. Wallis Budge, who has given us translations of at least seven Abyssinian manuscripts, the last of which, the *Kebrä Nagast*

(or Glory of the Kings), has recently appeared, and is a perfect storehouse of delight.

All these works, however, are in the form of more or less ancient manuscripts so far as Abyssinia is concerned, and it may be said that there is no modern literature, and indeed practically no books at all. I have been able to find a few bound in wooden covers, but they were merely copies of portions of the Scriptures, mainly the Gospels.

As to their arts, while I would not be so rude as to suggest that their painting is crude, yet I fear they have some way to go before qualifying as Royal Academicians. I am no judge of art, and in these precincts I should certainly shrink from expressing opinions on that subject. The pictures are mainly religious, with a military flavour occasionally, and a sprinkling of historical and hunting topics. Virtuous people are depicted full face, evil doers or enemies *en profile*, which at all events makes their pictures more easily understandable by the vulgar than some modern European efforts I have seen since my return. But there does not seem to be any very great demand for artistic works, and I fear that painting as a means of livelihood would be unlikely to yield an enormous income in Abyssinia.

Music is certainly popular; I should describe it as either very ancient or ultra-modern—I am not quite sure which. But it will, I imagine, undoubtedly tend in a modern direction, for while I was there a dramatic society was founded in Adis by the “Young Abyssinians,” and presumably they will march—or rather play—with the times.

C. F. REY.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE AFRICAN ELEPHANT

PART IV

I WAS one day following along the banks of the Ituri river not far above Mawambi, with a little pygmy companion, when from their tracks we became aware that elephants were close in front of us, and before long discovered them on the other side of the river. As I stood watching them across a hundred yards or so of shallow broken water and uncovered rocks, my companion drew my attention to an otter busily fishing, with the sunlight glistening upon his wet coat as he came up time after time on to the stones, shaking his head apparently to throw off the water.

Further on we were startled by some blood-curdling sounds from the forest ahead, as if two animals were fighting, or as if a leopard were killing a pig. We listened in astonishment to the noise. Then my little fellow whispered "nyama" (meat or animal), and with his short spear ready for action, set off in the direction of the sounds, I following. Lying full length on the ground, peering beneath the bushes, we discovered two animals chasing each other here and there. At first I thought of the "Ndili," the great "forest goat" or yellow-backed duiker, but presently they stood still, giving me a chance of a shot, and I found I had killed a forest hog; but to my disgust it turned out to be the sow instead of the pig.

The Big Old Tusker's Last Sprint.

As we were following up the noise made by the pigs, we crossed the tracks of a very big elephant, and so fresh that the water was even then trickling into the great footprints. I tried to call off my pygmy by hissing after him, but nothing would stop him when it was a question of meat. When hunting in the forest one never allows oneself or one's companions,

under any consideration whatever, to speak above a whisper. The human voice is like a foghorn in the forest silence, and a clear warning of danger to everything within earshot. As surely as the rule is broken there is certain to be a buffalo or other animal listening intently to find out what is approaching, and which stampedes, of course, or sneaks away the instant it recognises the presence of man.

As soon as the pig was securely covered over with branches, and the way to it blazed from the river, we set off after his lordship, with high anticipations, for the footprints were big, and the animal an old one, as could be seen by the size of the toe-nails and the depth and size of the marks left by those peculiar cracks on the soles of the feet of every elephant, intended perhaps to prevent skidding. He had been close to us when I fired, and his tracks told us that he had set out in a hurry for the great forest area to the south. At first he had carried everything in front of him, sliding in hot haste down the small slopes. For an hour it was all I could do, with my heavy gun, to keep up with my little man. Then we found that the beast had recovered somewhat from his scare, and picked his way more carefully. Another hour's hard going and his tracks told us that he was coming to a halt. Then a fresh hot dropping, with a cloud of small elephant flies around it, warned us that we were close up. On we went, now stealthily, till we heard a stick break in front, at which my little tracker stopped and fell behind, as if to say, "I have found him for you, now the gun can do the rest." A little further on, and I caught the sound made by his big ears moving the undergrowth—three or four slow, steady flaps, then silence to listen, then three or four more flaps. He had come to a stand in some thick growth a hundred yards or more in front, and was hot and winded after his five- or six-mile stampede, probably saying to himself, "That was a near thing. I am not as active as I used to be." On I crept, now very carefully, moving only when he flapped his ears, and at last I got a view of him, stern towards me. Yes! he was a big fellow, and I could just see through the bushes that his tusks were heavy ones. To get up towards his head I had to fall back and try another way. Although these old tuskers are not nearly so quick at detecting one's

scent, or at hearing a noise, as the younger ones are, there was not a second to lose. I was soon close up to him again, five or six paces away, with a good view of his head this time in a good light, and it was easy to place a solid bullet just below the zygoma, some way behind the eye. Down he went, an almighty collapse, on an even keel, and I began to congratulate myself. But there was life in him yet, and before I had reloaded he was on his feet again, and turning away from me. As quickly as possible I pushed through the bushes and put in a heart shot. But I doubt if it was needed, for he scarcely went two strides, and then, like a great house on stone pillars, toppled slowly over with a crash. My first feelings on downing an elephant, particularly a grand old tusker, full of long life and wisdom, have invariably been those of regret. There can surely be no other sport in the world to equal the finding, tracking, getting up to, and cleanly killing a tusker, but when the game is over, regret at the destruction of so mighty a beast comes surely enough. Except for the tusks, what is there to take away? As I stood contemplating the mountain of flesh, I heard the voice of Korondo, my tracker, behind me asking if the elephant were dead. When he appeared he put his hand with reverence upon my rifle. To him and all the pygmies the gun is a far more important being than the man behind it. We climbed round to the head of the fallen patriarch, and Korondo pronounced the tusks to be very big ones. And so they were, a fine pair for the forest, fairly straight, long and nicely pointed, and when chopped out weighed 96 and 98 lbs.

Collecting Skull and Head Skin.

I had hoped to be able to collect the head skin and skull of an old forest elephant, and as we made our way back to camp, Korondo blazing our trail by dropping leaves and bending down twigs, to an elephant road that we knew was a mile or so away, I turned over in my mind all the possibilities of collecting this one. To get the skull intact necessitated leaving the tusks *in situ* in the forest for six or eight days, instead of chopping them out. This meant putting a guard over them, or camping there myself. Then to bring out the skull intact

eight miles through the forest was a difficult, almost impossible undertaking, for a way would have to be cut. When I thought of the head skin the difficulties seemed insuperable. I could not get enough men to skin and clean it quickly, and even if it were divided into five pieces (trunk, two ears and two head pieces), each would be too heavy to get out for cleaning and drying, and it was certain that they could not be dried in the forest. Many other difficulties presented themselves. On the following day, though we skinned the head, being obliged to sever the neck to do so, and cut off and partially cleaned the trunk piece, the work took us all day, and in the end I had to give up the idea. On the second day I sent men to chop out the ivory and carry it in to camp, no easy task through miles of thick forest without a path. But the men were Swahilis I had imported from Mombasa, amongst whom there has always been a sort of rivalry in carrying heavy ivory, a survival from the old caravan days. Later on in open grass country, in the hot weather, in the Uele district of the Congo, I succeeded, with the help of over 200 natives, divided into relays, in successfully skinning, cleaning and drying the head skins of two big grass elephants, and brought them to England, together with the ivory, and the skull of one of them. This latter with the tusks is now being mounted in two equal halves in the British Museum of Natural History, South Kensington. To do the same with a forest elephant would be a very difficult undertaking.

As a Dangerous Animal.

The buffalo and the lion are certainly very dangerous animals to come to close quarters with, especially when wounded, but the elephant is probably accountable for more injury and actual loss of human life than any other animal, by reason of his numbers, his prodigious weight and power, and the surroundings in which one is usually obliged to tackle him at very close quarters. In reality he is a nervous, extremely sensitive animal, and, though sagacious enough under training, the Indian species at all events, in the wild state he is often wanting in intellect and resource, and only too anxious to save himself if possible when danger threatens. He is a relic of a bygone age,

and nearing the time when he will be unable to hold his own in the march of events, and to roam at will over a continent no longer "dark" as in his palmiest days, but which is now enlightened and established as the greatest and richest source of those raw materials so much needed in the world's greatest markets at its very doors.

The Wrecked Camp.

I have vivid recollections of a camp I made in the great forest in 1914 on one of the islands in the Ituri river below Mawambi. Near the upper end of the island, beneath the trees, I had a small area cleared in which was pitched my tent for sleeping, its outer fly for dining under, the tent of a Belgian officer who was on a three days' visit to me, and my small tent which was used for store boxes, skins, etc., as well as a bath-room. Further along the bank was the cook's grass hut, his kitchen, a hut for my two personal boys, and beyond this two others for my gun-bearer and men, and for the canoe-men. One night, just as we had finished dinner, a memorable one, by the way, for we had fresh okapi steaks that night, my gun-bearer suddenly appeared with the news that an elephant was on the extreme upper end of the island a little beyond the camp. Then the ever-ready canoe-men appeared with the canoe, so we grabbed our rifles and jumped in, improbable though the tale sounded. Rounding the end of the island, sure enough we heard an elephant within a hundred yards of our camp, contentedly pulling down branches and stripping off leaves. He soon got our wind and stopped feeding, and presently, a little further on, we saw his head and tusks outlined against the dark foliage as he was preparing to slide into the water and cross over to the mainland again. My Belgian friend, whose experience of elephants was nil, at once blazed two shots into the animal's face, and in less than a minute pandemonium broke loose. The scared beast stampeded along the bank straight for our camp. Missing the first two huts, he carried away the kitchen, pots and pans flying, screams from the women and boys, and shouts of murder from the cook, knocked down the small tent, swept away many of the ropes of two of the other tents, and continued his headlong

career to the end of the island, where he took to the water, there about three feet deep, just as we arrived in the canoe. With a clear outline of him against the river, and the water eddying against his legs, I was able to put in an effective heart shot, while the Belgian placed several more somewhere. In the morning we found the brute dead in the forest a few yards from the bank, a young bull with tusks weighing $22\frac{1}{2}$ kilos each, which we chopped out during the day and ferried over to camp. That evening we heard some drum signals tap-tapping in the forest near our elephant, and when we visited it on the following morning the carcase was a seething mass of little pygmy people, men, women and children. They had heard our shots, of course, in the night, from their encampment four miles away, and sent out some of their number in the hope of getting a supply of meat, carrying along with them presumably a small drum on which they signalled back their discovery, and brought their whole encampment pell-mell. Soon after daybreak they were well on with the work of cutting up, had fires lighted all round, and were fighting and hacking, shouting and snarling, like so many little wolves. The meat was already high, and they had foregone their usual custom of dancing round the dead animal.

Breaking up the Carcase.

To see an elephant broken up by pygmies, or, in fact, by any wild natives, is a sight to be remembered, and one not to be missed. Everyone is for himself, trying to keep his hold on a few inches of skin, which he laboriously cuts through with his spear-head, and then hacks and saws away at the meat beneath, fighting the while to maintain his place. As soon as a bit of meat is detached it is seized by a child or someone on the watch for it, or is thrown to a woman in the background, who places it on a staging of sticks under which a slow fire is kept going, and there it is left to be smoked. Wild pandemonium reigns, till the skin and flesh gradually disappear, the ribs are laid bare, and bits of liver and lung begin to come from the mass of humanity. Before long some of them are inside the skeleton, handing out bits of the organs, and the uproar if possible increases. Only when a few of the

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larger bones remain, lying in a mass of mud, blood and filth and stomach contents, does the hubbub lessen. Eventually even the long bones are chopped up and carried off, for in the elephant these are solid and contain a quantity of oil, instead of, as in other animals, being compact bone cylinders filled with vascular marrow. This elephant fat, as I have already said, is most useful for cooking and for many things, and, with the smoked or toasted meat, is bartered by the pygmies for sweet potatoes and other plantation delicacies grown by their bigger brothers outside the forest.

Elephants if shot at or scared will very commonly make for a river if there happens to be one near. They seem to have learnt by experience that once over it pursuit is stopped. At one of the stations on the Ituri I recollect that target practice for the soldiers was commenced one morning at 7 a.m., after a cessation of some months. From my quarters I had a grand view of the river, 200 or 300 yards wide, and soon after the firing began I was called out, and saw below me thirty elephants and eight or ten buffalo hurriedly crossing in pretty deep water, the buffalo swimming, the elephants wading and swimming, the buffalo scrambling to land and diving into the grass, the elephants taking their risks more leisurely.

Forest "Edos."

In the big forest near that same station was an "edo" which was an unending source of interest to me during my stay in the district. An "edo" is an open space in the forest, often an area of swamp through which a stream meanders, and where water-plants and coarse grasses grow. Round its edges are to be found small patches of grass cropped short by animals, and mud-holes, where the mud is saltish and animals come nightly to lick and wallow. Such places to the animals are like oases in a desert of forest, and all the game paths in the neighbourhood converge to them. At night they are rendezvous for all the forest side. Buffalo come for the grass, pigs to wallow, antelope to lick the salt mud, and elephants and all the denizens of the forest for purposes known to themselves only—probably to meet or pick up the scent of friends and relations, or to talk forest politics and spread the news.

Night Shooting.

In the "edo" mentioned above I spent several exciting nights. There was a shooting platform in one of the trees, built by whom I knew not, which served me well as a refuge on one of those nights, but I preferred not to use it for shooting from, for the branches of every tree in the forest are swarming with small black ants, and the nuisance of them is intolerable; one finds it impossible to keep still. Consequently I elected to remain on the ground. Near the rude ladder leading up to the platform there stood a compact clump of bushes ten feet high and very thick. By cutting out the heart of this, and tying the chopped-out branches basket-wise round the inside of the central hollow, I had a shelter at least safe from buffalo or leopard. In it I placed a long chair with two blankets, smeared my hands and face with the useful "Bamber oil" to prevent mosquito bites, and made myself as comfortable as I could just before dark, with several convenient peep-holes for observation, an entrance towards the "edo," and an exit in the direction of the ladder and tree shelter. The moon was nearly full, and the first night I shot a buffalo. In the morning I could have shot another one. The next night I shot two pigs, and saw what I believe was a bongo, but may have been an okapi. During the third night all sorts of animals came within range of my hiding-place. Two chimpanzees turned up in the evening and built themselves apparently two or three trial nests or sleeping platforms till they had suited themselves. These I inspected in the morning only 200 yards or so away. The pair quarrelled once or twice during the night. Whether or not they were both together on one platform I could not satisfy myself. Just before dawn they woke the echoes of the forest with their maniacal yells and hoots, till the colobus monkeys far and near woke up and began their early morning croaking rattle. About midnight a young bull elephant silently appeared, made a careful tour of the "edo," blowing two or three times, and then slid off into the forest again, along a path which I knew led in quite a different direction to the one he had come by. During the next few days I learnt by twice coming upon and following the tracks of this

elephant that he had left a herd early that evening, made almost a bee-line for the "edo," and when he left it joined a herd in another part of the country miles away, but whether his own herd, after going on a visit, I could not tell. On the fourth night a herd of twenty or more elephants, none of them old ones or large tuskers, turned up and remained. They seemed to know I was there, but took no notice, till early morning, when it got very dark, they attempted to investigate my flimsy fort in a most disconcerting way. While one got hold of it with his trunk, another seemed to be trying to move it bodily with his tusks. I had to think about quitting by the back door, so, squirming out of my chair, I got through the opening I had made, and jumped for the ladder. I had laid a white stick on the ground to guide me in the right direction if necessary. Up I managed to get, though it was no easy matter with a heavy rifle. Even when I turned on an electric torch from the tree the herd showed no signs of fear, but shortly afterwards they all moved off. The explanation, I think, may have been, that the mosquito lotion that I had used, and of which the chief ingredients were kerosene and citronella oil, had so masked the scent of man that they failed to realise what they were dealing with.

Elephant Shooting.

In an elephant country herds and family parties may be met with often, but however much one is through and through the district, it rarely happens that one chances upon old tuskers haphazard. Their tracks have to be searched for, or men employed to spy out the land, and when promising tracks are found, sufficiently fresh to be worth following up, it needs all a strong man's staying powers to come up with the animals that day or the next. Then begins the battle of wits, and the hunter's knowledge of woodcraft and habits of elephants is put to a severe test. He must know, by reading accurately the signs at his disposal, when he is getting near enough to pay attention to the direction of the wind. He must be able to interpret correctly every noise made by the elephant's feet, ears or trunk, or coming from his internal economy, and he only has his ears to do it with. If in a grass country, and

able silently to climb a convenient tree and get a view, he may learn much from the outline of the back, which, when the animal is at rest and unsuspecting, is strongly arched, its highest point being perhaps fifteen or eighteen inches higher than the level of the shoulders, for the head is then very low. When suspicious and listening the head is raised, and the arching of the back is less conspicuous: and when moving off or putting up the trunk, the arch disappears and the back becomes hollow. The most difficult part of the whole game is the approach from the right direction as regards the position of the animal, and close enough to get in a shot, the head or the heart shot, and to know where to put the shot if the manœuvre for place is not quite successful. One's safety depends largely upon experience, upon one's knowledge of what the elephant will do under all circumstances, and upon one's power of concentration and ability to act quickly.

Easy though it very often is, however, to bag an elephant with one head shot only, provided one knows how, it is by no means every time that one succeeds in doing this. The dim light in forest work is against it, and in a bush country the difficulty of seeing through the long grass often spoils a shot, and perhaps three or four cartridges are fired, and a long stern chase necessitated, before the ivory is secured. No animal in the world will carry away more lead than an elephant if the shots are not placed in a vital region.

In the Upper Congo I once joined in the chase of a wounded elephant which had received a volley early that morning from seven askaris—native soldiers—from a neighbouring post, and had got away across the river. We followed his tracks for a long five miles, and at last discovered the poor beast standing in the river in six feet of water douching his wounds. Sixteen more shots were fired into him by the askaris until the elephant rolled over and over in the water, kicking and trying to gain a footing, which he did eventually, and though half drowned was able to make the bank, and was eventually killed when half-way up it by a head shot that happened to be rightly placed. I left the turmoil at its height, having no wish to end my days there, but how it was that some of the men were not shot I never understood.

The Head Shot.

No man should think of going after elephants unless he has made a careful study of the skull and its soft parts, and the situation of the heart and greater blood-vessels within the body. His success, and certainly his safety, largely depends upon his knowledge of the anatomy of the beast he is hunting, just as much as it does upon his knowledge of its habits and habitat. The head shot is the most deadly, if the bullet is placed in the right spot as regards the surface, and delivered from the right direction. Much depends upon the right direction. The correct spot on the surface is between the eye and the orifice of the ear, four, six or eight inches below a straight line drawn between the two, according to whether one is near or some way off from the beast. The eye is easily seen, but the oral meatus lies in an elongated vertical depression, which must be located by the prominent ridge in front of it. More or less horizontally across the temporal region runs a raised prominence, indicating the bony zygomatic arch. Above and below are distinct hollows. The zygoma indicates the vulnerable area. Beneath it or behind it in the skeleton is a cavernous hollow extending towards the centre of the skull, and at the bottom of this, separated only by a comparatively thin plate of compact bone, is the brain. In life, on both sides of the head, of course, this hollow is filled by the masseter muscles which actuate the massive lower jaw. A hard bullet having missed the zygoma, which need scarcely be reckoned with, has, therefore, if aimed from the right direction, only the skin and muscle, and lastly the above-mentioned bony plate, to go through, before reaching the brain and causing instant death. But everything depends upon direction. If the direction is correct a small-bore rifle is sufficient to kill an elephant stone dead with one shot. I have killed them with the .276 Mauser and .303 Lee-Metford. To do this one must fire from a little nearer the front than half profile. That is about 30 degrees from full-face, or 60 degrees from side face or profile. A study of the bare skull will at once show why. If taken from the side—profile—the massive condyle of the lower jaw comes in the way, though a hard bullet from a heavy high-power

rifle may do fatal damage almost anywhere in the temporal region. In practice one has to judge the direction and right spot on the surface as much by the general outline of the head as by anything, for the light is often insufficient to make out surface markings. The head shot is perhaps most useful in the forest, for one is often able to manœuvre for position, while in long dry grass this is impossible. Moreover, having fired a head shot one is sometimes able to put in a heart shot as the animal turns if the first shot is not effective.

The mistake almost invariably made by most men when trying the head shot is to shoot too high. An examination of the bare skull of an elephant will show that the comparatively small brain is far below the centre of the huge skull, and that above the brain are about two feet of bone cellular, containing sinuses filled with fluid, into which one may pump pounds of lead without bringing about a fatal result. The reason of this upward development of bone is to raise the attachment of the *ligamentum nuchæ* and the great neck muscles as high as possible above the axis on which the skull is pivoted to the spinal column, so as to gain sufficient leverage for the support of the enormous weight of trunk and ivory.

The Heart Shot.

The heart shot is fatal enough if one is able to get a good view and place it correctly. A good indication of position is the continuation of the back line of the foreleg upwards, aiming a little higher than half-way up the body. Better high than too low, in this case, for if any one of the great arterial vessels is severed the shot is as fatal as if the heart had been punctured. As often as not it happens that one can neither see the legs nor get a good outline view of the body, and one is obliged to judge the position of the heart by what is visible of some other part of the animal. If safety permits, it is a good plan to put in two shots in quick succession. If not placed correctly the animal may go for miles and recover. An elephant's lungs are adherent to the body walls, and when pierced do not collapse, an anatomical arrangement quite unlike other animals, whose lungs are surrounded by a pleura and a pleural cavity. An antelope or a buffalo whose heart has been missed, but

whose lungs are pierced, soon has to lie down, giving the sportsman a chance to come up with it.

Of the central forehead shot through the base of the trunk I have had no personal experience, but I have met men who have had years of experience with elephants, who have assured me that they have killed cleanly with this shot, and one cannot doubt, therefore, that it is a possible one.

CUTHBERT CHRISTY.

(Concluded.)

OUR MANDATE IN NORTH TOGOLAND

PART II

THE Bimoba are a very little known tribe. They speak a dialect akin to the Gruma branch of the Moshi or Dagomba language, and certainly to be included in the Voltaic group noticed and so named by Mr. Delafosse. They do not seem here to be smelters of iron as the Kusasi and Busansi; but they have a great pottery industry. At each village one sees the furnaces used for that purpose. They are not native to this part. Their original home is unknown, but the people under our protection came from the east, driven from Mir and Nano by the Ashanti invaders. Here, indeed, is an interesting glimpse into the history of that warrior tribe. Till now the history of the Ashanti, excepting in so far as his relations with European Powers are concerned, is practically unknown or rather unrecorded, and perhaps the following tradition of the Bimoba may not only be of interest but also of value.

Some two hundred years ago there were two claimants to the skin or throne of Mamprusi: Kogodana and Yigandana. The former, unable to overwhelm his rival, sent for help to Ashanti. His request was granted and an army from the south came to his assistance. Their leaders were Natabe, Sangwana and Garadima. (I don't know whether these are Twi or Dagomba names.) They first showed their ally how to fortify the town of Nalerigu, and themselves built a wall of mud strengthened with shea-butter round the place, and having defeated Yigandana, demanded a land in which to settle.

Kogodana pointed out to them Sansane Mangu. They agreed to this and marched to this place, now the French headquarters, on the Oti river. Here they met a wild naked race whom they easily overwhelmed.

To digress a little, it is of interest as supporting the *quasi-truth* of this tradition, the Sansane Mangu people and the

Tchokosi not only speak a dialect of Twi, but name their children after the days of the week, Kwesi, Kojo, etc., as in Ashanti. Moreover, this great Ashanti invasion is recorded in the Grumshi (Kasena and Nankanni) traditions. The people of Zeko even trace their origin to a wounded Ashanti left behind by the retiring army. How similar this last is to our own former belief of Trojan extraction.

Firmly established at Sansane, the Ashanti developed a great slave-raiding business. Naturally their raids tended to go further and further afield. Eventually they reached the then Bimoba country, and these unfortunate people, though under the protection of the Mamprusi chief, were forced to seek refuge close to Nalerigu and thus came to inhabit this part of our mandate. The present chief of Solotigu is the sixth since this flight, which must therefore have been some sixty to a hundred years ago.

Eventually the Ashanti were defeated by a combined force of Dagomba, *i. e.* Mamprusi and Kusasi, at a place called Yargunga, somewhere in French territory to the north of Bōku. I do not think this could be the same defeat recorded in Grunshi tradition, for sixty years ago the Zaberma raiders were ravaging that country, and their doings are well known in detail to this day, whereas the Ashanti tradition is very vague, and therefore presumably much more ancient.

The Bimoba live in grass-roofed huts of the usual round type. There are usually five huts to a compound. The entrance to the hut is of the Mamprusi pattern, being a door through one of the huts, which is put to many uses as mentioned above. Outside the compound are two roughly squared granaries about ten feet high. One containing the thrashed grain is raised off the ground about eighteen inches and stands on roughly hewn logs, which themselves are set on stones so that damp and ants may not easily ruin the store. The other is on the ground and is used for unthrashed grain, beans and ground-nuts. In front of the granaries is a hard beaten mud circle, on which the tassels of guinea-corn and ears of millet are dried and later thrashed. Cattle are kept in zaribas and tended by Fula men. Goats and sheep and poultry live with their owners. The number of dogs is remarkable. One notices

a curious mattress-like carpet at each door, made of the stalks of the fan-palm leaves tied together.

The women are not clothed, being content with bunches of leaves. Instead of the finely woven and coloured grass girdle of the Kusasi, they use a quantity of strings made of woven grass and all dyed black with which to suspend their leaves. The men are ordinarily clothed, in loin-cloth and sleeveless jumper of native cloth reaching half-way down the thigh. But I noticed particularly a form of adornment which I have not seen elsewhere. Many of the youths tie round their ankles and half-way up their calves the dried leaves of the fan-palm, giving the appearance of dirty white gaiters.

One of the most striking features of these villages is that outside practically every compound is growing a particular bush. The plant resembles a baobab in its grey grotesqueness, and in February is covered with a mass of large pink flowers. The tapering branches are soft and leathery like tentacles. It is called Saa-tesaga by the Bimoba (tornado-thunder) and is looked upon as a deterrent for lightning. I do not know whether this is a cactus or not.¹ Excepting in the Tong Hills I have not met it; I believe Capt. C. H. Armitage, now Governor of the Gambia, when Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories, took specimens to Kew.

This is far from the only "fetish" outside the compounds. There are many of all sorts, but interpretation being difficult and shyness a still greater obstacle, one could not learn much. These sacrificing spots, calabashes, stones, forked trees, pots, etc., are far more numerous than I have encountered anywhere in the Northern Territories. Most remarkable is Poyonna, a wooden idol carved from the fan-palm. It resembles a man, and is about five feet high with arms and legs. It has no features to its face and is the "fetish" to which all sacrifice before going hunting in the bush. In other respects the appearance of a group of compounds is not greatly different. Farms are made right round the hut group, and the crops are the usual guinea-corn, millet, beans and ground-nuts. Here and there yams are tried, but with little success. It would appear that the great Gambaga scarp is a barrier for agriculture as it

¹ There are *no* cacti indigenous to Africa.—Eds.

is for tribes and climate, a definite line of demarcation in every respect.

Following more or less closely to the new boundary one passes village after village. The country is badly cut up by the rains into deep narrow nullahs, but as one reaches the summit of each undulation the scenery is really magnificent. The scarp now rears itself like some distant mountain range, the eastern bank of the Biankuri is backed by a small sharply broken range covered with forest, and in the far distance one can make out yet other ranges of hills. To the west and north there is nothing but the rolling waves of tree-tops interspersed with high brown patches denoting the whereabouts of villages. From time to time one passes groups of ruined and deserted compounds. These are the grim witnesses to a devastating plague of some twenty-five years ago, which just before the advent of the white man decimated the country. From the tradition of its symptoms it would seem to have been the fatal cerebro-spinal meningitis which so often visits these parts.

As I was riding quietly along the path, there came along a party of five men, clad only in kauri-bedecked strips of cloth, a striking sight, since all men here are clothed usually in native jumpers or at least drawers. When they reached me they bent to the ground and danced past, crouching and greeting me with a low guttural growl. This naturally roused my curiosity, and one of the sons of the chief of Solotigu provided me with the following information.

These men are members of a secret society which is to be found in most villages. The society is entirely of Bimoba origin, members of which are known as Konne (pl. Konse). After reaching puberty all young men are eligible. They are taken to an old man, owner of the society's bari or medicine, and therefore local head of the Konse. After three days their entry is approved, and a house of grass mats is erected for them near the Lari's (head of the Konse) compound. Here the candidate remains secluded for four months. He is taken there at night and no man may see his going. He may not come out till the period of seclusion is past, and his wants are attended to by a boy and girl who are named his father and mother. The owner of the bari renames them, and by these

names only may they be known after their re-entrance into society. To mention their original name is death from sickness in no long time. These Konse names are : Lari, Sangso, Dutu, Kombete, Kolaa, Lamboa, Sambeg, Samwog, Bonbog. They learn a special language unintelligible to the uninitiated. It is certainly a weird language, sounding like so many growls, but when sung in chorus is of an extraordinarily pleasant hearing.

They learn, too, a series of dances and the strange manner of walking first noticed by me, crouching towards the ground and skipping or dancing rather than walking along. And they learn to use their left hand with which to eat meat and not as is customary the right. This is during the probationary period of four months. But even more interesting than this subversion of custom is the fact that except for meat they may use no hands at all for eating. Their " mother " feeds them. The food usually is millet or guinea-corn porridge soaked in water. She ladles the food out with a calabash which she holds to their lips. Goats-flesh and fish are forbidden during this time.

If a Kusasi youth wishes to become a member he has to undergo a rather frightening ordeal. He is cut with a knife and medicine is inserted in the wounds. Thereby he is reduced to unconsciousness for a long time. " He dies for five days " is the expression used. They then anoint him with other medicine and he returns to consciousness.

When the four months' seclusion is completed the father of the candidate provides a feast for him and his " father and mother " attendants, and gives to the Lari three fowls, 400 kauri, four pots of native beer, four calabashes of food and three pots of cooked meat. During the ensuing month, the first after their liberation, they give themselves up to dancing and feasting. They are terribly excited at this time and cannot remain at rest. I saw one outside the chief of Solotigu's compound and he was ever on the move and looked like one half-crazed.

The season for the initiation period is naturally the dry season, lest farming should suffer, and I was fortunate enough to be at Solotigu just after the seclusion period had ended and during the month of festivity. The chief gave me the pleasure

of witnessing a dance. We had first to hold a political palaver and the dancers were very restless. One fainted from excitement—a not unusual event among these savages.

Freed from duty we adjourned to the shade of a locust-bean tree and the dance began.

There were fourteen dancers attended by their late “mothers.” They were covered with kauri—a band of these shells round the forehead, several thick necklaces, some hanging well below the waist. Five bands of kauri girdled their loins, and tucked in behind was the skin of an oribi with the hair side showing, whilst in front was a small blue loin-cloth almost covered with strings of kauri, which hung from ropes of the same shell that encircled the neck. Each, too, had a leather bag decorated with the same shell hanging in front. Wristlets and armlets were of the same design, and anklets and bands round the top of the knee were of iron. On either arm above the elbow was a wooden ring, and on the ankles were iron bangles hung about with loose iron rings which rattled as they danced. In addition every dancer wore necklaces of beads of European manufacture.

On the left shoulder they all carried axes and in their right hands a horse-tail, of which the handle was studded with kauri. The left hand grasped the axe-handle and was armed with a dagger, of which the hilt passed over the palm and was still further guarded by being tied with a leather thong to the leather wrist shields which every bowman must wear; on the right hand a sharply pointed knuckle-duster and an iron ring on the thumb. Earrings of iron and a necklace of threaded iron rings completed the dress, the back being crossed with kauri bands. The *tout ensemble* was not only strikingly picturesque but extraordinarily attractive.

Music for the dance was supplied by drummers, who were clothed ordinarily. The drums resemble roughly trimmed side drums and were painted red, white and black in stripes. They all showed traces of sacrifices to them, blood and feathers remaining stuck on their sides.

The dance was accompanied by a song in the guttural growling speech of the society. So far as I could make out the steps were not intricate, but the time was excellent. A short step forward with the left foot, the right one then came to its

heel; a second short step with the left, the dancer then leapt about a yard on the left; the right foot came up and a third short step with the left. When the dance ceased each covered his features with the horse-tail and his attendant "mother" wiped the sweat from his brow with her hand.

A second dance followed. Each gave up his horse-tail and took a drawn sword of native manufacture. The scabbard was slung on the left hip. I could not make out the step. From time to time the sword was thrust into the sand and the dancers bent over them, all the time chanting in their guttural tones. They suddenly massed together with sword-points on the ground and bodies bent bowed before me. I was told they were saluting me and asking leave to go. They sang a chant, almost Gregorian, whilst awaiting my dismissal. I was nearly tempted not to let them go, but had pity on them, for the sun was high and the heat intense. They then pranced or danced off to their Lari's house.

It is worthy of note that once initiated a member is considered of a fit age to marry. Nowhere else in North Mamprusi is this society or any other similar society to be found. It would be interesting to know whether this at all resembles the Moshi Wango.

When a Konne dies it is said that his spirit returns while his comrades are dancing in his honour. He will seize all his former dancing dress and dance alone in his former hut. All outside will hear him stamping and his dancing irons rattling; but they cannot see him, and until his Lari has begged him to depart, telling him how the women and children are afraid and weeping, he will not cease. But then he hears his old tutor and goes willingly to his rest.

On leaving Solotigu one leaves the Bimoba country behind, and riding along a road made by the Germans one re-enters the almost treeless undulating country of scattered compounds typical of the Kusasi and Busansi and of long settlements. Here and there are short belts of shea-bush, but these gradually disappear as one proceeds northward until—Timpani, Kagbiri and Buguri having been passed—one sees again the sacred wood of Pusiga and the little eminence Motanga.

A. W. CARDINALL.

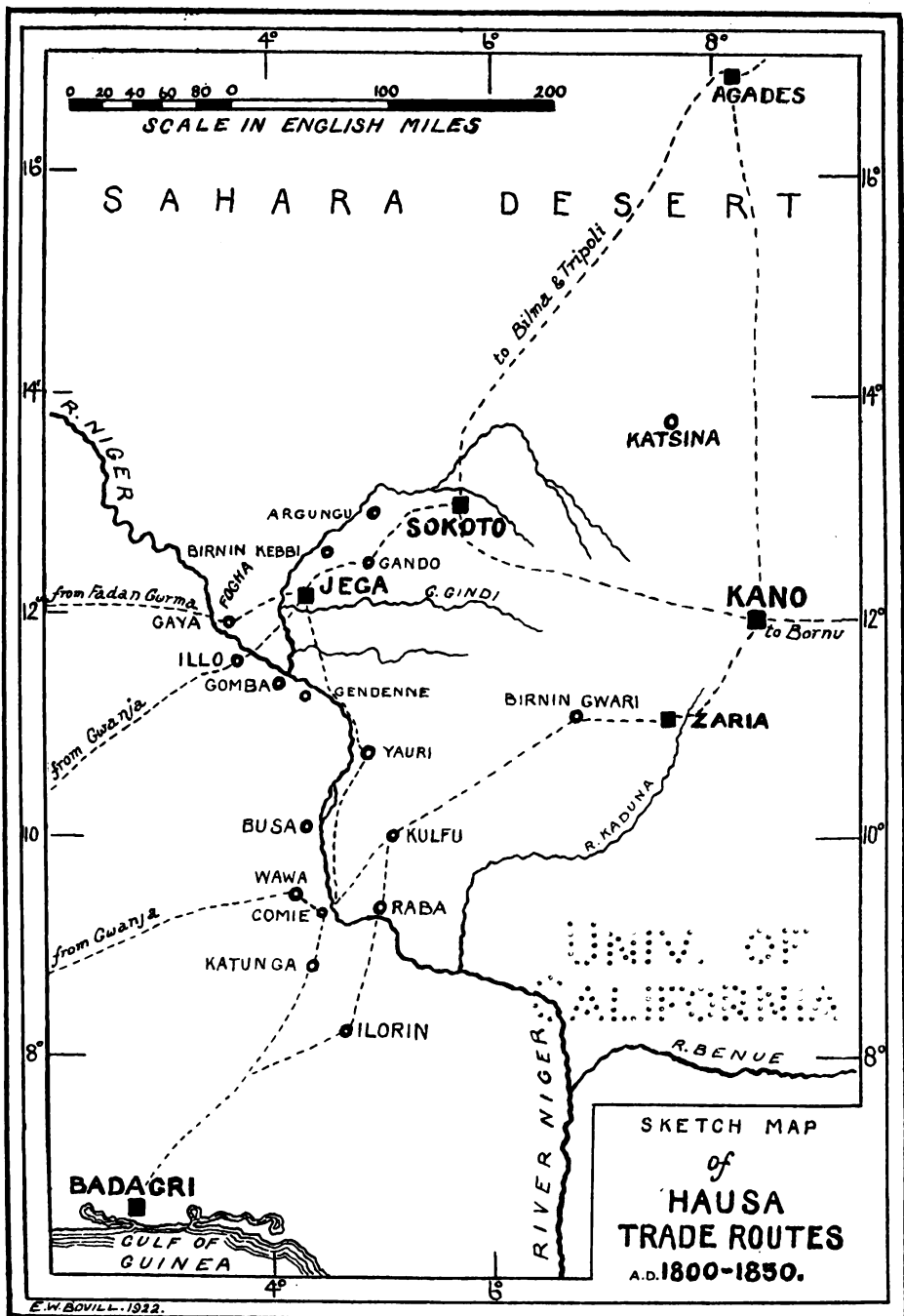
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JEGA MARKET

I

OSUMAN DAN FODIO, the Shehu (Sheikh) who established Fula¹ dominion 120 years ago over so great a part of the Western Sudan, numbered amongst his early disciples a turbulent character named Abdu Salame, a Hausa of the tribe of Ariwa Mantu, and a man of reputed sanctity. Abdu Salame was a cause of the final breach between the Shehu and Yunfa Sarkin Gobir. Incurring the enmity of Yunfa, he and his followers were compelled to seek safety in flight. Entering Gimbana they fortified the town and defied the Sarkin Gobir. Their resistance was unsuccessful; Gimbana fell and many prisoners were taken. While these were on their way to Yunfa the Moslems amongst them were released by the Shehu, who by that time had acquired considerable influence. The repeated demands of Yunfa for the surrender of the prisoners were met with refusals, and this led to the break between the Shehu and the Sarkin Gobir which precipitated the *jihad*. When the time came for the victorious Shehu to choose governors for his extensive dominions, his Hausa disciple, Abdu Salame, was put in charge of a considerable district. After a while the turbulent spirit of Abdu began to assert itself. Finally he abjured Islam and openly rebelled against the Shehu, and, we are told, it was at a place called Jega that he and his followers offered a long and successful resistance to the Fula. He was finally defeated and died a fugitive. He and his followers and their descendants are known as Gimbanawa, and Jega is to-day their principal town. Bohari, the son of Abdu Salame, was the first Sarkin of Jega.

¹ NOTE BY EDITORS.—The author adopts throughout this article the Arab rendering "Fillani" for the Fula people. The Hausa name for this remarkable race is "Fellata." But it has been thought best to use but one term—Fula—to indicate this nearly half-white, ancient, hybrid stock, originating in West Africa. Throughout their range their own name for themselves is Pul-o in the singular and Ful-be in the plural; and the Mandingo peoples intervening between them and the Senegambian coast generally speak of them as the "Fula."



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In August, 1854, Dr. Barth found himself for a second time within a few miles of Jega, but on account of the bad state of the roads he was prevented from carrying out his intention of visiting the town. He tells us it was "the important place which . . . on account of its mercantile importance, had attracted attention in Europe a good many years ago"; he adds that although it had declined from its former importance, it was of sufficient consequence to make him desirous of visiting it. Careful search has failed to reveal how and when Jega came to attract attention in Europe at a period when so little was known of this part of the interior of Africa. It was presumably subsequent to Clapperton's second visit to Sokoto, in 1826, for, although one of the principal objects of his journey was to acquaint himself thoroughly with the trade of the countries through which he travelled, neither he nor his servant, Richard Lander, mentioned the name of Jega in their journals.

Although, according to Barth, Jega had already lost much of its importance as far back as 1854, and, to our certain knowledge, its fortunes have been declining for the last twenty years, it is to-day the largest native market in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria with the sole exception of Kano. The building of railways by the British and French and the consequent diversion of trade into new channels have been sapping the strength of Jega for some years and the decline in its prosperity has recently become so marked that it seems not unlikely that it may once again sink back into the obscurity from which it emerged less than a century ago. This perhaps is sufficient excuse for an attempt to discover the secret of its rise to prosperity and fame.

II

Jega lies in the extreme west of the Hausa country, which from the earliest times has been a region of great commercial activity; as it appears to have attained the height of its fame in the first half of last century, it will be pertinent to review briefly the trade of the Hausa people a hundred years ago. Although there is a tendency to exaggerate the extent of the foreign trade of the Hausawa, there is no doubt that their

commercial relations with the outside world were remarkably extensive for a negroid people inhabiting a country so far removed from the sea, and pressed between the boundless wastes of the Sahara and the well-nigh impenetrable forests of the tropical rain belt. Their foreign trade extended northward to the coast of Tripoli and southward to the Gulf of Guinea; they maintained commercial intercourse with Timbuktu and carried on a very considerable trade with the less distant salt-bearing regions of Bilma in the north, Bornu (Chad) in the east and Fogha on their western frontier.

The Mediterranean and Guinea coasts were connected by a great trunk route which passed through the centre of the Hausa States. From Tripoli it extended due south across the Sahara, entering the Sudan in Bornu near Lake Chad; from there it continued westward to Kano, at all times the greatest market of the interior, whence it ran southward across the Niger and through the Yoruba forests to Badagri, the trading port of the Slave Coast, situated not many miles west of the modern port of Lagos. A hundred years ago the European slave trade still flourished and Badagri was the most important town on the West Coast of Africa. It was divided into British, Spanish, Portuguese and French quarters and there was a considerable Hausa colony. Hausa traders, too, carried on a very extensive trade with Gwanja in the hinterland of the Gold Coast, the most important of the kola-nut districts. It is interesting to note that the Arab merchants of Tripoli were trading indirectly with the markets of the Guinea coast in at least three articles. Kola nuts grown in the coastal regions were carried all the way to Tripoli, where they were sold for as much as two dollars a score; great quantities of glass beads of Venetian manufacture and unwrought silk found their way from Tripoli to Badagri and Gwanja.

The importance of this trunk route was due mainly to the fact that it carried the bulk of the foreign trade of Kano and other Hausa markets. The traffic with Tripoli in slaves alone was enormous; they were exchanged in Kano for sword-blades, fire-arms, scents and spices. Tuareg from the Sahara coming south with the salt of Bilma returned with their camels laden with corn and cloth. A big trade in natron from Lake

Chad was carried on with Bornu. The salt trade of Fogha was in the hands of the Hausawa. From Badagri came traders with all manner of European trade goods—mostly cloth, brass and pewter—which they bartered for slaves, as well as for the wares of Hausa craftsmen and the beads and coarse silk of Tripoli. But no trade was more flourishing than that with Gwanja, for the kola nut had gained such a hold on the people that it tended to become a necessity rather than a luxury.

There appears to have been no well-defined route between Kano and Badagri. Between these two places lay a region of dense bush peopled by a variety of different tribes, often at war with each other, and numerous petty states constantly in a condition of political instability. Any road which lay through this turbulent and lawless region was liable to be closed to traders at frequent intervals by all manner of disturbances. Consequently we find trade following no well-defined route, but flowing through many and devious channels. In the accounts of the early explorers the weary traveller is often compelled to retrace his steps for a long distance to seek another and less dangerous road.

The disturbed state of the country was only one of the obstacles which impeded the traveller and hampered trade. Circumstances compelled traders to travel together in large bodies for mutual protection, and caravans thus formed sometimes numbered several thousand souls, besides all manner of pack animals. For these huge caravans the crossing of a river as big as the Niger was an undertaking not to be lightly carried out at any chance point on the river bank. The riverine tribes had established ferries at convenient points and levied tolls on those making use of them. The traffic being considerable, the ferries proved lucrative to their proprietors, who did their utmost to foster trade by guaranteeing comparative security to travellers through such of the country as they controlled. In the early years of the nineteenth century the two principal ferries were at Raba, just below the present bridge at Jebba, and at Komie, about fifty miles higher up.

The uncertain route of a Hausa trader returning from Gwanja to Kano may be compared with the sea-passage of mediæval pilgrims travelling from the Continent to Canterbury. Having

once cast off from the French coast, the frail craft of the pilgrims might make the coast of England anywhere between the Solent and the Nore; it little mattered to the pilgrims at what port they landed so long as it took them to the sacred shrine of Becket. Similarly, the Hausa trader cared little whether he was cast up from the turbulent bush at Raba or at Komie so long as he got his precious kolas across the Niger and his feet set safely on the road to Kano.

From the ferry at Komie one road ran north-east through Birnin Gwari and Zaria to Kano, but another well-known route followed up the left bank of the Niger through Yauri and into the north-western districts of Hausa, where it converged on an important kola route running in a north-easterly direction from Gwanja. The latter was an alternative route from the Gold Coast to Kano, the crossing of the Niger being effected probably at Illo or in the neighbourhood of Gaya. These two, with a third coming from Wagadugu and Fadan Gurma, were the chief trade routes of the west; they converged and met in the valley of the Gulbin Gindi, probably at or near Jega, which, a hundred years ago, was emerging from a period of strife and acquiring commercial instead of political fame.

III

Jega has one remarkable feature in common with six other of the most noted markets of the Western Sudan. These six are Bamako, Wagadugu, Fadan Gurma, Gaya, Kano and Dikwa, which, with Jega, are all situated within a day's march of the twelfth parallel of north latitude. It is not by mere chance that we find them so. The twelfth parallel is roughly the latitude of the intermediate zone which intervenes between the savannas of the Sudan and the forests of the tropical rain belt; it separates the oil palms of the forests from the *borassus* and *hyphæne* palms of the Sudan, and it marks the southern limit of the date palm, which in this region is not often found and is usually barren.

The forests were peopled by predatory negro tribes practising the gloomy rites of fetishism and dominated by the awful power of the fetish priests. Although many of the coastal

tribes had for centuries been in constant touch with Europeans, they had derived no benefit from a contact which was maintained solely through the unwholesome medium of the slave trade. The comparatively open plains of the Western Sudan were the home of negroid tribes which had been raised to a higher cultural level by an infusion of Hamitic blood and by the numerous beneficial influences—among which we must include a fairly general conversion to Islam—which had percolated into their country by way of the caravan routes of the Sahara and up the Nile valley into the Eastern Sudan. Although paganism was practised amongst these negroid tribes—to this day many of the old pagan rites survive amongst professed Moslems—they heartily despised the more primitive peoples of the forests, and regarded with abhorrence the revolting rites which often characterised their religious practices. From time immemorial it had been the custom of the Sudan tribes annually to raid the forest tribes for slaves. The conversion to Islam of the former added religious fervour to the zeal of the raiders, and as years went by there was a tendency for these annual raids to become more highly organised and to be conducted on an ever-increasing scale. Consequently we find that at all times there was distrust and hatred between the tribes of the Sudan and those of the coastal forests.

Happily there was a certain amount of peaceful intercourse through the medium of trade. Most of the forest tribes, who were constantly at war among themselves, lacked that prime necessity, salt, and unless they were on friendly terms with the tribes on the sea-coast, which they usually were not, they could only procure it from the north. The Sudan tribes were able to provide salt from various sources, and were willing to barter it for gold-dust, kola nuts, slaves, or European goods traded up from the coast. The trade varied locally, but from the Gambia in the west to Lake Chad in the east there was considerable commercial intercourse between the hostile tribes of the savannas and the forests. This trade gave rise to numerous *entrepôts* for trade in the intermediate zone—that is to say, in the latitude of 12° N.—where the forest tribes could safely barter their goods for the salt of the Sudan peoples. The most famous of these *entrepôts* were Bamako, Wagadugu, Fadan Gurma,

Gaya, Jega and Dikwa. Although Kano, too, actually lies on the twelfth parallel, its position is exceptional, for it is typically a Sudan market, and its commercial importance is based on the remarkable industry of the Hausa people rather than on the convenience of its position as an *entrepôt*; moreover, owing to the elevation of the country around Kano, the savannas of the Sudan here extend considerably south of 12° N.

The country around Jega presents all the characteristics of the intermediate zone. To the north lies savanna or orchard bush and to the south the forests, which, however, do not attain great density till the coastal region is approached; around is bush of moderate density, but no longer of the orchard type, while the watercourses are characterised by gallery forest, though this is fast disappearing as the cultivable areas are extended. A few oil palms and occasional groves of bananas bear witness to a comparatively humid climate. Belts of *borassus*, or fan palms, are numerous in the north, where also may be found very occasional *hyphene* and date palms, the latter stunted and barren.

IV

The modern Gimbanawa are an unprogressive people who profess Islam, but their creed rests lightly upon them, and they are not without pagan sympathies. They appear to be endowed with no outstanding virtues, with the exception of a certain skill in tanning, and they are not known to possess any commercial ability, the bulk of their trade being in the hands of foreigners. The breadth and elasticity of their religious views, however, may be accounted an asset in a market which serves as an *entrepôt* for the trade of both Moslems and pagans. Their principal occupations are agriculture, tanning and weaving. The important position which this market rose to occupy cannot be said to be due to any special virtue or effort of the Gimbanawa, but rather to the chance of circumstances.

As regards transport Jega is singularly well situated and is equally accessible to tribes of the north and of the south. It enjoys the great advantage of being situated on the Gulbin Gindi at the highest point which can be used by large canoes

all the year round, so that it is at all times accessible from the Niger by a navigable waterway, the big market, of Gomba being at the confluence of the two rivers. The neighbourhood is happily free from tsetse fly, and the market may therefore be safely visited by the various kinds of transport animals in use in the Sudan. It has a bad reputation amongst Buzai camel-men, but a few of their animals may be found in the market during the dry season.

Besides these advantages Jega was geographically well placed to attract foreign trade before the British and French railways began to penetrate into the interior. Not only was it linked to the Niger by a perennially navigable waterway, but seventy miles southward was the independent pagan state of Illo with an important ferry across the Niger,¹ and just above and below the big markets of Gaya and Gomba. It lay at the junction of two important trade routes of the south, the one coming up from Badagri on the Slave Coast and the other from Gwanja. Only three or four days' march to the west lay the great salt-bearing district of the Dallol Fogha, with an annual output of about 700 tons of salt, for which Jega was the natural market. Communication with Kano, the greatest trade centre of Western Africa, was maintained by a well-known route which was one of the principal highways of the Fula dominions. The salt mines of Bilma were accessible by way of Agades (Aïr),² by which route came also the unwrought silk of Tripoli, for which Jega was the principal market in the time of Barth. A market endowed with so many natural advantages could hardly fail to attain a position of importance.

V

Although the Hausa States offered but feeble resistance to the Fula, they no sooner began to feel the weight of the yoke of

¹ Whether the important modern ferry at Gendenne was also in use a century ago appears doubtful. As Gendenne itself is known to have been a place of some importance, possibly it was. The heavy traffic which this ferry now carries is principally restricted to the flourishing cattle trade between Jega and Lagos, which is of recent growth.

² So important was this trade that in 1808 Bello, the Shehu's son, arranged a treaty with the Sarkin Aïr for keeping open the trade routes.

the conqueror than they tried to free themselves by armed rebellion. The early years of Fula dominion were a period of turbulence, and it cannot be said that they were firmly established till shortly before the death, in 1837, of Muhammadu Bello, the successor of the Shehu. By that year the greater part of what to-day comprises the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, besides much country lying to the west, had become tributary to the Fula Sultans. Sokoto and Gando became the twin capitals, closely situated in the basin of the Gulbin Sokoto, the former eighty miles from Jega and the latter only thirty. Sokoto, however, the original capital of Shehu, was by far the more important and became the political hub of this part of Africa, with a large and expanding population.¹ Tribute from all parts of the Fula dominions came pouring in to Sokoto, and from it there radiated roads leading to all quarters. It became, temporarily, a centre of wealth and learning, and within its walls there resorted Arab merchants from Tripoli and learned *malams* from Masina.

Although part of the trade of Kano and other Hausa markets with Badagri, Gwanja and Tripoli was inevitably drawn into the populous valley of the Gulbin Sokoto, the city itself never acquired commercial importance. The capital of the Fula Sultans was too constantly disturbed by the clash of arms and the marshalling of troops to generate the tranquil atmosphere which is so necessary to trade; whilst the ardent fanaticism of the Fula, the flame of whose religious zeal continued to burn intermittently up to the present century, served only to repel the cosmopolitan crowd of small traders who throng the markets of the Western Sudan.

Moreover, even in the vicinity of Sokoto there was often little security for travellers on account of the warlike Kebbawa of Argungu. This people had thrown off the yoke of the Fula and founded an independent kingdom at Argungu. Although their capital lay within two or three days' march of both Sokoto and Gando, they maintained their independence up to the

¹ In 1824 Sokoto appeared to Clapperton to be "the most populous town he had visited in the interior of Africa." As he had just come from Kano this is surprising. The population of Sokoto to-day is about 21,000, and that of Kano about 60,000.

British occupation in 1901, and throughout the century they were constantly at war with the Fula, laying waste their lands and raiding up to the very walls of Sokoto.

With fanaticism within and turbulence without there was little enough to attract trade to Sokoto and Gando, but as they became the centres of a wealthy population there was need for a large and easily accessible market where the foreign trade of the country could be handled. This need was filled by Jega.

Formerly there had been another very important market in this district. This was the old and historical town of Birnin Kebbi. For two centuries or more the powerful and wealthy kingdom of Kebbi had been the centre of a very considerable foreign trade. In 1805 the Fula captured Birnin Kebbi, and in the loot that followed a great deal of silver and some gold is said to have been taken.¹ Birnin Kebbi is still a town of considerable size, but it never recovered its commercial prosperity. Although Jega was so well qualified by natural advantages to serve as an *entrepôt* for trade, the opportunity to develop the commercial possibilities of its geographical position was provided by the unhappy destruction of this ancient kingdom of Kebbi. Many, indeed most, of the natural advantages with which Jega was so generously endowed were common also to Birnin Kebbi, and there can be little doubt that had this old and flourishing market of the powerful Kebbawa survived the *jihād* Jega could never have aspired to the important position which it rose to occupy.

VI

There has been a very decided decline in the fortunes of Jega during the last two decades. The extension of the Nigerian railway to Kano, the bridging of the Niger at Jebba, and the building of the Dahomé railway by the French have combined to draw much trade away from the north-western provinces of Nigeria. At Sokoto there are now several European trading firms, whose activities have led to the growth of the

¹ In 1912 a groat of Edward III. of England was picked up at Birnin Kebbi.

Sokoto market at the expense of Jega. Moreover, the old fanatical hatred of the Fula for those less devout than themselves has practically died out under the equalising influence of British administration, and men of all creeds may to-day trade as freely within the walls of Sokoto as anywhere else.

Although the trade of Jega has been dwindling for some years it still occupies a commercial position second only to that of Kano. Its comparatively small population of about 10,000 includes many rich merchants, mostly natives of Lagos and the Gold Coast. On the outskirts of the town is the large marketplace comprising over four hundred stalls, built of clay with thatched roofs. Two big markets are held weekly, but there is a fair attendance daily except during the rains, when the trade of the whole country is at a standstill. Outside the town is a *zango*, or caravanserai, of over a hundred houses for traders who pay a small fee for a night's lodging, and here one may see all manner of natives, but they are mostly small Hausa traders. The trade in kola nuts continues to flourish, though on a reduced scale, and a good business is done in European trade goods. By far the most important trade is that with Lagos in cattle. The rapid growth of European and Moslem settlements on the coast has created a big demand for meat. The bulk of this trade passes through Jega and thence southward over the Niger at Gendenne. The following figures for the year 1914-1915 show the magnitude of this trade : cattle 83,592, sheep and goats (mostly sheep) 268,492 ; horses to the number of 3,956 were sold in the market during the same period, while the actual weight of goods brought into the market was estimated at 7,556 tons.

Although Jega is endowed with so many natural advantages, it seems probable that the ever-increasing extension of European commerce, with the subversive effect it has on native trade, will cause this once famous market to sink back into the obscurity from which it emerged less than a hundred years ago.

E. W. BOVILL.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

A MEETING of the African Society was held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, W.C., on Thursday, 29th June, 1922, at 5 p.m., when Sir Alfred Sharpe, K.C.M.G., C.B., gave a lecture on "Big Game Shooting in Africa." The Lecture was illustrated by Kinematograph Illustrations.

The Chair should have been taken by the Right Hon. the Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G., the President of the African Society, but in his absence Capt. Frederic Shelford deputised.

Amongst those present were :—

Sir William Allardyce, Mrs. Bruce Anderson, Miss J. G. Annandale, Rev. W. T. Broadbent, Mrs. Sydney Brounger, Sir Horace Byatt, K.C.M.G., Mr. F. B. Castellain, Mrs. Castellain, Major C. S. Cumberland, Sir Francis Fuller, K.B.E., C.M.G., Lady Fuller, Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen, K.C.V.O., C.M.G., D.S.O., Major C. S. Goldman, Mr. John B. Hicks, Mr. Michael Holland, M.C., Mr. H. W. Seton-Karr, Lt.-Col. W. E. Lees, R.E., Lord Leigh, Col. Ridgeway, V.C., Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Lady Ross, Mr. N. W. H. Syers, Major H. W. Taylor, Mrs. Taylor, Mr. E. O. Teale, Sir Lawrence Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., Lady Wallace, Mr. H. S. Wellcome, Mr. T. D. Williams.

Introducing the Lecturer, *the Chairman* said : I very much regret to say that Earl Buxton, who should have been here to take the Chair, has been unable to come, at any rate so far. He may come in perhaps later. I understand he is engaged in an important discussion in the House of Lords this afternoon. So it falls upon me, at very short notice indeed, to take his place, and to introduce Sir Alfred Sharpe. I might perhaps say that I am asked to do this because I believe I am the oldest Member of the African Society, or of the Council at any rate. I helped to found it in the year 1900. Sir Alfred does not need much introduction from me. He has had enormous experience of Africa, both as Governor, Commander-in-Chief, and explorer. He was in Fiji, I think, originally, and in 1887 went to Nyasaland. Later on he was Vice-Consul, Commissioner, and finally Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British Central African Protectorate.

Sir Alfred Sharpe then delivered his Lecture, which is reported on p. 1.

Immediately following on the Lecture some interesting Kinematograph films were shown taken by Mr. Barnes in Nyasaland, the Belgian Congo, Ruanda, the Semliki, the Congo Forests, etc. The audience were particularly interested in some unique films of elephants, buffalo and rhino in their native haunts.

At an interval during the Kinematograph display, the speaker was asked: Would you mind explaining what the deep depression was we saw shown on the screen?

It was one of the volcanoes at the north end of Lake Kivu, replied the Lecturer, several of them are active, and there are from time to time big eruptions. I well remember one when I was there. Around the bases of these volcanoes in dense bamboo forests there are gorilla. That is the only place, except in North Congoland and the Cameroons, where gorillas are found. They are of a larger size than those of the Cameroons. You will see some on the screen. Unfortunately in the forests the light is so bad that these photographs are not very good, but you will get some idea from the pictures of the immense size of these beasts.

At the close of the Lecture, *the Chairman* said: You (indicating the audience) have applauded each film, and you have shown by your applause how much you have appreciated the beauty of these pictures. I always think it is a relief to applaud a film. It is not much use applauding a film in a Kinema because the actors are not there. I would now like to thank Sir Alfred very much indeed for his goodness in coming here and showing us these beautiful pictures. Some of them are quite unique—particularly those of the buffalo and the elephants, and the hippo. I am sorry the light was so bad in some of them. I don't know if anyone here would like to make some remarks on big game shooting. Sir Alfred has shown us pictures. He has not told us a great deal about the shooting of big game.

Mr. H. W. Seton-Karr then asked: Has Sir Alfred any idea of the reason why there is so little game on the West Coast? And that ancient volcano-crater Sir Alfred mentioned, is that not the place where a German family shot hartebeestes for the German Armies? It is a very good place for lion-shooting, though it is rather a hard place to get at. There is another point. Sir Alfred said there are still places in Africa where explorers could do good work. I will mention one place in confidence to the Society, Bahr-el-Arab, which runs into the Nile on the Western bank. It is one of the places where any explorers might go. (Applause.)

General Lord Edward Gleichen tells me that part of it has been explored, but the results have not been published—I assume because they were confidential. Anyhow, I consider that there are still many places in Africa calling for explorers, though not large areas as in the old days.

The Chairman: Talking of big game shooting, let me tell you of one Sunday morning in East Africa. I was sleeping in a tent on the Athi Plains—a place which is described in the guide books as

where many sportsmen have shot many lions and many lions have killed many sportsmen. I was awakened by my gun-bearer, and, as the result of what he told me, went out in my pyjamas, stalked an Impala and shot him within three hundred yards of the camp. Going back to the tents I shaved and had breakfast, and we afterwards moved on to the plains, where I shot several "heads." Before very long I saw a rhinoceros. We walked towards him—a rhino cannot see you, he smells. It is a very keen smell. And directly that rhino smelt us it went for us. We shot the rhino, left him to have his head and paws cut off in the usual manner, and proceeding on horses ran into seventeen lions. At least we counted seventeen, although one estimate was that there were only sixteen. We wounded one of them, which proceeded to charge, as a lion always does when hit, and I got him. We decided then to stop and camp. I looked at my watch and it was eleven o'clock on Sunday morning. I did not want to be irreverent, but I had to say "This is better than going to church" (laughter). I do not know whether there are many sportsmen in this room, or whether it is generally known that a lion is best shot with a shot-gun and not with a rifle. With a shot-gun the best method is to allow the beast to come to within about ten yards, and, when it opens its mouth, to shoot into it with a shot-gun.

I heard a lady in the audience say just now she loves lions. When you meet a lion it always runs away unless it is a man-eater, which is very rare. But if you hurt him in any way he will go for you like a streak of lightning.

For instance, if you hit him in the front paw he will come at you like an express train, on three legs. And if you follow a lion he will stop and turn, and look at you, and if he looks at you, my experience is, he is always going to charge, and if a lion charges it is either you or the lion. Tiger shooting in India that we hear of—such as the Prince of Wales has enjoyed—is done from the howdah of an elephant, where the tiger cannot easily get you. But in East Africa you are on the same level as the lion, and if you miss him when he charges he is going to kill you. Either you are going to kill the lion or the lion is going to kill you. I should like to raise a discussion as to what is the most dangerous of game. I don't know whether anyone here is prepared to argue it. Some people maintain the lion is the most dangerous of all, another the rhinoceros—a nasty beast, weighing two tons. It comes at you at thirty miles an hour without making a sound and without any provocation. Or is the elephant the most dangerous, or the buffalo, which has a nasty way of going into a bush when hit, and when you follow, charges you sideways when you do not expect him? Another dangerous beast is the leopard. I know a man who was very badly hurt by a leopard. A leopard will hide behind a piece of grass of very small size—it is absolutely incredible how cleverly it can conceal itself. A friend of mine hit a leopard once, and then looked for him, in the twilight. The leopard allowed the gun-bearer to pass him, but did not allow the sportsman himself, he

jumped at his shoulder and at once snapped half his head off. It is a nasty beast, the leopard.

Sir Frederic Hodgson said: Those who have heard Sir Alfred's address will be inspired to form expeditions to go big game hunting, and I wish to give them a word of warning. I think I am right in saying that the Governments of West and East Africa have been requested to form reserves for big game, so as to prevent the wiping out of big game like elephants. I believe also that those who want to go shooting for big game have to get licences before they can do so. I have just mentioned these points because I think they should be borne in mind.

The Chairman: In East Africa you can shoot lions without any licences. They are considered the vermin of animals.

Sir Frederic Hodgson: Of course. I refer more to elephants, and other animals which have tusks, or anything else which makes them valuable.

The Lecturer: With regard to the first question: Why there is so little game on the West Coast? The reason for the difference between the West and the East sides of Africa is that in West Africa for perhaps a hundred to three hundred miles back you have dense forests, and although there is quite a quantity of various small duikers and other game in the forests you scarcely ever see them. The only way to find them I know of is the native way. They "call"—I don't know whether any of you here have seen this done in Africa. The "caller" fills his nostrils with grass and then puts his hand to his nose and makes a noise exactly like a bleating goat. Again and again in Liberia, after two or three minutes calling, I would see a little movement in the leaves, and some small beast or other come into sight. That is the only way in which I could get the small beasts in West African forests. I am sure there are a number of small forest antelope in West Africa which are not yet known.

Regarding the Ngorongoro volcano visited by Mr. Barnes: It is in ex-German territory, and during the war there was a German who lived there, and simply shot game—hundreds and hundreds of beasts—for supplying meat to a section of the German Forces; but according to Mr. Barnes that has had no effect in diminishing the number of game still there. The Bahr-el-Arab basin is one of the choicest regions, I think, left for exploration. Scarcely anyone has touched it yet. Regarding the Athi Plains, I hope they will always be kept as a game reserve, now that the war is over. There are quite a number of game reserves in Africa, in Nyasaland, the Kenya Colony, Uganda, the Sudan, and the Tanganyika Territory. In the Kenya Colony (that is, "British East Africa"), we have a wonderful zoological garden of game many miles in extent. It is a reserve and I hope it always will be; but in most other parts of Africa you have not similar conditions. The great thing really to keep a check on is the destruction of game, elephants especially, by natives. The number of elephants shot by white men is nothing compared to those wounded

and killed by natives. It is the control of native shooting that is mostly required. Captain Shelford is quite right about a shot-gun for lions, providing you let them get close enough! As to the most dangerous beast, I always think that this is the lion. Of course if you meet him in daylight, in open ground, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will run away. But at night, or in the dusk he is a dangerous beast, and once wounded I look upon him as far and away the most dangerous animal to tackle. Buffalo, in the open, I do not think you need trouble about; but in thick stuff they will charge without being wounded or disturbed. Rhinos are stupid: they neither see you nor hear you well. With regard to elephants: if you go on hunting them long enough you will get killed, but they are not so dangerous when charging as, say, a buffalo or a lion. We have many of us been charged by elephants, but somehow or other we got away.

The Chairman: I think that concludes a very interesting afternoon. (Applause.)

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE Sixth Commission of the League of Nations has appointed a sub-commission to inquire into the recrudescence of slavery in Africa, especially in Abyssinia. Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, on behalf of the New Zealand Government, moved :

(1) That the assembly should invite the Council to carry out an inquiry into the alleged revival of slavery in Abyssinia in order to lay a report before the next meeting of the Assembly; and

(2) That with the assistance of competent African administrators the whole question of slavery in Africa should be investigated.

The Haitian delegate supported the resolutions. The British delegate pointed out the difficulty which would arise if Abyssinia, which is not a member of the League of Nations, should refuse to allow such an investigation. The Portuguese delegate said that, although he raised no objection to the proposed inquiry into the question of slavery in Abyssinia, it was impossible for him to support any proposal in favour of extending such an inquiry to the whole of the African continent, as such a proceeding would amount to a grave criticism of the administration of those countries that possess colonies in Africa. Eventually the sub-commission decided to collate information on the subject of slavery in Africa, and settle at its next meeting the precise method of dealing with it.

It is somewhat difficult, without a full report of the discussion, to understand the attitude of the Portuguese delegate. If the League has the right to criticise Abyssinia's morals, surely it has the duty of looking nearer home and inquiring whether the countries represented in the League conform with the ideals which the League represents.

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THE charge brought against Abyssinia is that not only domestic slavery, but also all the worst features of slave-trading and slave-

**Abyssinia's Place
in the Sun.**

raiding, are rife in the country. The slaves, it is alleged, are captured by armed raiders invading adjacent British, French and Italian territories. If the charge be proved, the honour of these sovereign states is obviously concerned in the protection of their own subjects. The application of force to a country, whose mountain fastnesses in the past protected it from the flood of Moslem invasion, and in modern times saved it from sharing in the partition of Africa, would not be lightly undertaken by any one of the three war-weary sovereign states concerned. Happily the difficulty may prove capable of a peaceful solution. The slave-raiders are armed, it is alleged, with rifles imported from America. If the Government of the U.S.A. could be induced to put a stop to this importation the evil might be considerably mitigated, if not wholly stamped out.

Abyssinia meanwhile seems to cherish ambitions to emerge from her age-long seclusion in a novel and startling fashion. The King of Abyssinia has sent a message to the Universal Negro Improvement Association Convention at New York in which he invites members of the association to "come back to the homeland," to help solve Africa's problems and develop her resources. Mr. Marcus Garvey is at present the self-elected Provisional President of Africa. It looks as though the King of Abyssinia has some hopes that he may be the next.

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No profession in the world possesses so fine a reputation for altruism as that of medicine. When men like Dr. Carpenter and Dr. Marshall go into voluntary exile in noisome African swamps and labour, in face of the danger of a lingering and painful death, in the war against tropical disease, they work not for their own advancement but for the gain of the world at large. It is not all doctors, however, whose ideals are so fine. The Baierische Farbwerke claims to have discovered a cure for sleeping sickness in both human beings and animals. This, known as "Beryer 205," will also prove, it is expected, to point the way towards a cure for malaria and coast fever in animals. At the request of the Belgian Colonial Minister the Baierische Farbwerke has supplied him with a quantity of "205" for use in the laboratories at

Leopoldsville and the Belgian technical schools for tropical diseases. Such an act of courtesy is no more than would be expected amongst scientists, and especially amongst doctors. But some German scientists regard the discovery merely as a lever for the promotion of German interests. Dr. Zache, a former District Governor in German East Africa, in an article in *Hamburg Colonial Institute*, claims that the discovery of "Beyer 205" will place the key of Africa in German hands, and one of the speakers at the meeting of "the Association of Tropical Medicine" at Hamburg said, "The German Government must be required to safeguard this discovery for Germany. Its value is such that any privilege of a share in it granted to other nations must be made conditional upon the restoration to Germany of her colonial empire." In seeking words to express an opinion of the huckstering spirit of this suggestion one can but realise the poverty of the English language! Surely the shade of Robert Koch will apply for posthumous denaturalisation!

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THE decision of Southern Rhodesia, arrived at by referendum, as to whether she will join the Union of South Africa or establish responsible government of her own, should be known before, or very soon after, the publication of the JOURNAL. Economically and financially she has much to gain by union, but niggardly considerations of material gains or losses have little weight in the decision. The issue is mainly racial. In the Union the Dutch Nationalist party is strong, though in a minority, but might become stronger, especially if some catastrophe were to remove the strong personality of General Smuts; and the separation of South Africa from the British Empire is this party's avowed aim. Rhodesians of British stock fear, therefore, that present union with South Africa may involve eventual loss of British citizenship. For parallel reasons the Dutch Nationalist party fears the inclusion of Southern Rhodesia in the Union, for though there is a Dutch element in Southern Rhodesia which combined with Labour might prove a by no means negligible factor in Parliamentary contests, yet it is believed that the predominating British sentiment which

Southern Rhodesia as a whole would be likely to bring into the partnership would tell against Nationalist ideals.' General Smuts, in his recent speech at Bulawayo, while making no effort unduly to influence Rhodesians, showed quite plainly his hope that Rhodesia would unite with South Africa in forging the destiny of a white race "which would perhaps be greater than either Kruger or Rhodes ever foresaw."

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THE Delville Wood Memorial Committee, whose headquarters are at the office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, invite subscriptions towards the expenses of re-forestation and restoring the natural beauty of Delville Wood, and of erecting there a suitable memorial to the men whose blood made that part of France eternally South African. Some three thousand five hundred officers and men of the South African Brigade advanced to attack the wood at dawn of the 15th July, 1916. It was not until the evening of the 20th that the last of the seven hundred and fifty survivors reeled out of the shambles. It is not the British South African alone, or the Dutch Afrikaner alone, who should demand the privilege of subscribing to the memorial, for the men whom it will commemorate, though divided in speech, were united by the higher union of a common ideal.

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THE principle of self-determination has created a problem in South-West Africa which may seem **The Republic of Rehoboth.** Gilbertian, but is regarded as of immense importance by the people directly concerned. About fifty years ago a small company of "Bastards" (Hottentot-European hybrids), dissatisfied with white rule, followed the example of the Trek Boers, disappeared westwards into the wilderness, and established the Republic of Rehoboth. When Germany established her rule over South-West Africa, the half-caste Christian Burghers who formed this community obtained recognition from the German Government as British subjects governed by their own laws. When the Great War broke out the community of Rehoboth numbered five thousand persons, of whom two thousand were fit to bear arms. These men were called upon

to join the German forces. Though isolated and hopelessly outnumbered they gallantly stood by the Union Jack and withstood a siege until the advance of the British forces saved them from annihilation. It is impossible not to sympathise with the wish of this little community to preserve its identity. But unless the Republic comes into line with the Union Government, there is a danger that it may become an Alsatia for malcontents and a fertile breeding-spot for diseases among stock. For this reason the Union Government has asked the Rehoboth Volksraad to submit to certain laws, such as the licensing law and the public health law, and to pay the dog-tax, the revenue collected from which should be divided between the Republic and the Union, and while retaining the territory which it has at present and the laws now on its statute-book, to submit all future laws passed by its Raad to the approval of a Resident Commissioner appointed by the South African Government. The Burghers, however, have appealed to the Crown to be allowed to come under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Government, with a Resident Commissioner whose position would be similar to that of the Resident Commissioner of Basutoland. They wish to preserve their own laws in civil and criminal matters, but are willing to conform with South African laws in matters relating to public health, live-stock and agriculture. They wish litigation between Burghers and outsiders to be brought before a mixed tribunal, "for which His Majesty and the Kapitein of Rehoboth shall appoint judges," other disputes to be settled by a court appointed by His Majesty. Lastly, they wish as civilised people to be allowed the use of firearms.

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THE Burghers of Rehoboth must not be confused with the **The Bondelzwart Rebellion.** Bondelzwarts, whose short-lived rebellion in June last was suppressed with that degree of vigour and resolution which in the long run is the truest mercy. The outbreak appears to have been caused by misunderstandings, by the general vague unrest amongst the natives which is the aftermath of the Great War, and possibly by some tactlessness and lack of sympathy on the part of the government. The Bondelzwarts, about six hundred in number,

live in a reserve named Haib, not far north of the Orange River, the borders of which were recognised by the late and the present Administrations. The fundamental cause of the rebellion arose from there being two chiefs, one an upstart recognised by the Administration, the other an hereditary chief, whom the administration did not recognise. The hereditary chief, Jacobus Christian, fled from Haib in 1904 into Cape Colony to escape German persecution. When the present Administration took over the country and found Haib without an official head it appointed its own nominee. The German power having been smashed, Jacobus Christian asked permission to return to Haib. The administration allowed him to return, but as a private individual only. Somewhat naturally the Bondelzwarts, regarding him as their hereditary chief, transferred their allegiance to him, to the discomfiture of the officially recognised chief, who, at this point, disappears from the story. Soon after the return of Jacobus his brother, Nicholas Christian, came back to Haib. As he had been leading the life of an outlaw and a thorn in the side of the German administration, he was regarded somewhat as a popular hero. The local magistrate summoned Nicholas to report himself at Warmbad and recognise the authority of the administration by paying the dog-tax. Nicholas, not being quite sure of the reception he would get, disobeyed the summons and returned to his mountain fastness. He was accompanied by a small band of followers who had various grievances against the Administration, principally on account of the dog-tax. This tax which increases, according to the numbers of dogs kept, from £1 for one dog to £10 for five dogs, was levied in hopes of reducing the numbers of dogs kept and the destruction they cause to game. At this point another man, Abraham Morris, returned to Haib. A police-sergeant, on some grounds connected with the man's cattle, attempted to arrest Morris. The arrest was resisted, and revolt flamed out under the leadership of Jacobus Christian. The Union Government rushed troops and aeroplanes to the scene of the disturbance. The rebels, who had only about forty rifles amongst them, fought with dogged courage, but defeat was inevitable. Had the rebels had time to escape to the mountains a long and costly guerilla war might have resulted. White

residents of South-West Africa have used the incident to illustrate the anomalous position they occupy—although governed by the Union they are not citizens of the Union, and have no voice in matters that concern their own welfare.

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African Railways. THE Trans-Zambezia Railway was opened for general traffic on July 1st as far as Muraka, on the south bank of the Zambezi. From Muraka connection is at present made with the Nyasaland Railway at Chindio by river-ferry. The site of the bridge which is to carry the line across the Zambezi has now been determined on. It will cross the river at a comparatively narrow part from near Sena on the south bank to Mutarara, about one and a quarter miles down-stream from Sena, on the north bank. The bridge will be a big undertaking, but no great engineering difficulties are anticipated. The journey from Beira to Blantyre, via Chinde, by sea and river, takes anything from five to fifteen days—the number of times that the river-steamer runs aground on a sandbank being an important factor in the length of the journey. Now that the railway has reached the Zambezi, the journey can be accomplished overland in twenty-six hours at most, at half the cost of the river and sea journey. When the bridge is completed the cost and the duration of the journey will be still further reduced.

The Government of Kenya Colony has decided to prolong the railway now under construction from Londiani (eighty miles east of Kisumu) northwards into the Uashin district as far as Kitale.

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West African Fisheries. AT the Deep-Sea Fishing Exhibition at the Agricultural Hall in August last, Captain Louis Bowler, formerly of Sierra Leone, called attention to the vast potentialities of an organised fishing industry on the West African coast, where, he said, enormous quantities of fish are to be found. The fish are thickest between 5° and 16° N. and between 10° and 18° W., or roughly along the coast from Cape Palmas to Cape Verde, but the bonga, or West African herring, the most important fish in African waters, ranges along four thousand miles of coast as far south as the Cape. Many

beds of pearl and other oysters are to be found in depths of from four to twenty fathoms of water on the coasts of Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory and Gold Coasts. The demand in West Africa for dried fish is, in Captain Bowler's opinion, almost unlimited. Although many thousand coast natives live by fishing, as much as eight thousand five hundred tons of dried fish was imported into West Africa from Norway during five months only of the current year. The Norwegian dried fish merchants, who have made a great effort to monopolise the West African market, have made public a statement that it is impossible to dry fish in the tropics. This, says Captain Bowler, is absurd. If English trawlers find it worth their while to go as far afield as the Morocco coast, it is hard to see why an organised fishing industry with its base on the West African coast should not be profitable to both producer and consumer. The by-products of the industry—fish oils, glycerine, fish-meal and fish-guano—would find a ready market both in and outside West Africa.

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THE days are passed in which South African farmers could
South African get all the water they needed by building
Irrigation. each his little private dam. We look forward to a future when an artificially created change in the South African climate, brought about by some such huge efforts as refilling the lost lakes of the Kalahari Desert and causing the long-dry rivers to flow once more, will make irrigation unnecessary. For so desirable a change we must await the finding of the necessary money, and incidentally agreement amongst experts as to how it is to be brought about. Meanwhile many irrigation schemes planned on a large scale are developing, and some are nearing fruition. In the belief that the general public does not realise how much is being done, our contemporary, *The African World*, has published in its issue of August 5th an article reviewing the principal irrigation schemes that are nearing completion throughout South Africa. The Government dam at Hartebeestport will be completed in October. It will submerge an area of over six square miles, and will serve a huge area of land suitable for the cultivation of fruit, cereals, tobacco, lucerne, etc., of which the Government

holds 15,000 morgen. The Lake Mentz reservoir in the Sundays River Valley will also be completed in October. On the Gabedeila Estates a great deal has already been achieved. A weir already completed diverts the flood water of the Mogoto River by canals into the valley dam, which has a capacity of sixteen and a half million cubic feet, while the Mogoto dam has a capacity of one hundred and four million cubic feet. The Compies River barrage has also reached completion. Another storage scheme planned is the Upper Mogoto Reservoir, which when completed will have a capacity of four hundred and twenty-one million cubic feet of water. Similar undertakings are being pushed forward or are projected on the Namakwaland River Estates on the Orange River near the South-West Protectorate Frontier, on the Vaal near Vereeniging, and on the Mazoe in Rhodesia.

CORRESPONDENCE

27th September, 1922.

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,

I have just heard of a new book which deals scientifically with "vowel length" in Bantu. It is called *The Musical Accent, or Intonation, in the Kongo Language*, by S. E. Laman, D.D. (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Förlag. 10 kr.). Almost all consonant change in Bantu turns upon this question, the desire to give varying length to the vowel whilst still preserving clarity of sound. And the result is most rhythmic. Had I foreseen the unfavourable attitude taken by representatives of the International Phonetic Association to my little book on African Phonetics, I might have given more prominence to this point. For instance, the use of the nasal glide; we have such combinations as *gāna*, with short vowel and high tone; *ganda*, with medium tone and slightly longer first vowel; and *gāna*, with low tone and fairly long vowel. So too in Sir H. Johnston's book the marking of a special *n* before *g* has never seemed essential. No native could say *gan-ga*; the *n* is not sonant, but a glide introduced for the purpose of slightly lengthening the preceding vowel—in scientific phraseology varying the "musical pitch."

Yours,

W. A. CRABTREE.

BOOKS REVIEWED

Bantu Beliefs and Magic. By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G. (London: H. F. & G. Witherby, 1922; pp. 312; photographs. 18s.)

MR. HOBLEY'S main purpose in writing this most valuable book is to demonstrate the fact that the tribes under review—the Kikuyu and Kamba peoples of Kenya Colony—possess a system of natural religion more elaborate than was hitherto suspected. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which deals with religion, the second with magic, and the third with tribal organisation and miscellaneous matters. The two final chapters offer, the first "Some general remarks," the second various observations on "East Africa after the war." Mr. Hobley rightly deprecates a contemptuous attitude towards native beliefs. He sees that, "generally speaking," these beliefs tend to check progress and development as we understand them; but he sees also that they act as moral restraints and should not hastily be discountenanced officially: "the ruling power must be sure that it has something better and equally suited to the native mind to put in the place of a faith it tries to displace. Otherwise materialism will result, and the effect of this negation of faith, and freedom from all moral restraint upon a savage would be most disastrous" (p. 282). This must be evident to all. What is to take the place of the indigenous religion? It appears to Mr. Hobley that Islam is "for many reasons" more suited to the black than Christianity, but for political reasons he regards it as inadvisable that the State should in any way foster its progress in our African colonies; the bias of the State should rather be in favour of the eventual spread of Christianity. Mr. Hobley, however, is not altogether pleased with the present policy of Christian missionaries. He regrets that there is not a greater percentage of scholarly men with liberal ideas among them. He criticises them for perpetuating "a host of tribal languages." They would probably reply that they do it, not simply with the idea of "combating the spread of Mahomedanism," which, rightly or wrongly, is supposed to be facilitated by the use of Swahili, but because the employment of a man's maternal speech is the directest way to his heart. Mr. Hobley rightly says that the native chiefs readily respond to a sympathetic interest in their customs, etc. His

whole argument is that Europeans should study those customs and not hastily destroy but gradually construct bridges from the old to the new. This is precisely the missionary point of view. The aim of missionaries (as was their Master's aim) is "to fulfil and not to destroy." There is much in the natural religion that (as Mr. Hobley sees) cannot be permanent; but whatever there is of truth in it is to be gathered up and fulfilled in the religion of Christ. To teach foreign languages (whether English or Swahili) to the exclusion of the native dialects would surely be the surest means of giving the natives the impression that Mr. Hobley would rightly avoid giving them, namely, that Europeans "have set out to crush the deep-seated and cherished natural religion which the natives now possess" (p. 282). We say this, not by way of criticism of Mr. Hobley's main position—we have plainly indicated that we are in full and cordial agreement with that position—but we wish to disabuse his mind of any lingering suspicion that in this matter the policy of wise government is at variance with that of the missions. Mr. Hobley, of course, believes in the education of the natives, provided the education be of the right kind. He criticises, and not without reason, the present system in mission schools: "It is narrow in its outlook, it is not based on any sound foundation, and it does very little to develop latent powers" (p. 293). He urges that the Government should undertake the education of the new generation of native leaders.

There are a great many things in this book upon which we should like to comment. As Sir James Frazer truly says in his Introduction, it "is replete with information of great variety and of the highest interest for the student of savage thought and institutions." It is the fruit of long and painstaking investigation. Like Sir James Frazer we would single out for special mention the chapter dealing with "The Curse and its manifestations." It is very curious indeed that in East Africa the word *thabu* should crop up with such a similar meaning to that of the Polynesian word *tabu*. *Thahu* or *thabu* indicates "the condition into which a person is believed to fall if he or she accidentally becomes the victim of certain circumstances or intentionally performs certain acts which carry with them a kind of ill luck or curse" (p. 103). It is said that the *thahu* condition is inflicted by the spirits of departed ancestors, but that is probably an after-thought on the part of the natives, for the cases described by Mr. Hobley seem to indicate that the consequence is regarded as following automatically upon the action.

We feel that we should apologise for dealing thus cursorily

with Mr. Hobley's book. We urge every reader interested in the peoples of Africa to secure it for themselves and to study it closely. It is one of those books that really matter.

E. W. S.

Savage Sudan, its wild tribes, big game and bird-life. By Abel Chapman. (London: Gurney and Jackson, 1921; pp. ix, 452; map, 248 illustrations, chiefly from the author's sketches. 32s. net.)

A SUPERB book; one to revel in. In the course of half a century Mr. Chapman's enthusiasm for wild nature has sent him out on fifty-four oversea adventures, and the latest of these took him to the Sudan, the crowning glory of which, as he says, "lies in its virgin savagery." Since Sir Samuel Baker's days no other attempt has been made to describe that country from the point of view of the hunter-naturalist, and Mr. Chapman has brilliantly succeeded in filling the gap. He dedicates his book to the memory of Selous—"a lifelong friend"—and in a spirit of reverence he never mentions that name without printing it in capitals. Like his friend, he presents an astonishing example of physical energy in a sexagenarian; he blithely undertakes fatigues that would daunt most men of his age. His travels took him up the Nile to Rejaf, up the Dinder and Blue Nile rivers, and into the Red Sea hills above Suakin. Of all his experiences he writes in a pleasing, humorous fashion. There is nothing that palls in his pages. He apologises for the sketches—"crude efforts," he calls them, but drawn as they were on the spot and from the life, and picturing as they do with fidelity the characteristic attitudes of the animals, they are a delightful and valuable feature of the book. Mr. Chapman appeals to different classes of reader. Sportsmen will delight particularly in his accounts of hunting the game-animals of which the Sudan claims the virtual monopoly: the rare Saddle-backed Lechwe, the Tiang, Addra, Addax, etc. Of two of them, the Giant Eland and the White Rhinoceros, he did not get specimens, but he gives notes about them written by Mr. Sydney J. Pearson. Nor did he secure a Situtunga; but everything else shootable he seems to have shot. His own interest and the interest of his book, however, lies not so much in these exploits as in the habits of the animals here recorded. Birds on the Nile are numbered in millions and they are of infinite variety; Mr. Chapman's descriptions of them are most fascinating. One thing we must single

out for particular mention and that is his discovery of great colonies of hippopotami that only go to the river after nightfall and then only for a drink. "Investigation promptly showed," he says, "that these swamp-strongholds, though miles from the river, were crowded with the great amphibians. Therein, in fastnesses untrodden, protected by armoured jungle, and sheltered from the sun above by overarching papyrus, whole herds are wont to spend archaic lives—a custom that elsewhere throughout Africa has long become obsolete." He suggests that this is an ancient life-habit that in the dim past may have been the normal custom of the hippo.

Mr. Chapman's book abounds in valuable observations and suggestive discussions. He is quick to note instances of animal-sympathy, and has put some fine instances of it on record. He discusses whether birds possess the sense of smell, and concludes (provisionally) that they do not, except ducks and geese and certain waders. In an appendix he delivers a resounding attack upon the principle (or superstition) of "Colour Protection" and sustains the thesis that "whatever degree of protection be afforded by colour alone (if any) is so slight as to be all but absolutely negligible." We had thought that Selous settled this question years ago, but are glad to have the (to us) fresh evidence that Mr. Chapman brings forward.

Whatever readers may think about such controversial points, they will feel all the time that they are in the hands of a man who loves, and is in sympathy with, all live creatures. He is no less sympathetic when he deals with the native tribes, the Shilluks, etc.; all he met, indeed, except the Hadendowa Arabs, who inspired him with utter disgust. One chapter on "The Shilluk's conception of God and of creation," written by the Rev. D. S. Oyler, will be of great interest to students of religion.

E. W. S.

Out of the World North of Nigeria. By Angus Buchanan, M.C. (London: John Murray, 1921, pp. xvi, 253; map and photographs.)

CAPTAIN BUCHANAN, who will be known to some of our readers as the author of those delightful books, *Wild Life in Canada* and *Three Years of War in East Africa*, here gives an account of his exploration in 1920 of the little known region of Air. Few of us, perhaps, ever heard of that country before we read this book. Where is it? It lies in that part of the Sahara known as the French Military Territory,

between long. 5° and 10° E., latitude 18° N. It used to be termed an "oasis," but nobody will any longer so regard it after reading Captain Buchanan's description. He says: "... during the dry season I cannot imagine a more barren country than Air in all the world; mountain after mountain of bare rock and far-reaching lowlands of nothing but dark gravel-covered ground, bleak as a ploughed field in winter-time, except for scant rifts of green along sandy river-beds or close under mountain slopes. Without doubt Air is bleak almost as the veriest desert: the one a vast lifeless scene of rock and boulder and pebble, the other great wastes of sand." Captain Buchanan went to explore this inhospitable region and to collect zoological specimens for the Tring museum. It was absolutely virgin soil zoologically and his specimens are the first from there to reach the hands of scientific workers. In the course of a few months the author collected over 2,000 Lepidoptera and 1,100 birds and mammals; the new species and subspecies discovered are described in an appendix. This, as Lord Rothschild says in his Introduction, "is a remarkable achievement and proves him to be a most efficient explorer and naturalist." The narrative is of absorbing interest, and not alone to zoologists. The author has a fine feeling for natural beauty and enriches his chapters with vivid descriptions of the wonderful country he passed through. He has also a feeling for humanity and his appreciations of the fine qualities of his followers (not all very fine) linger in the memory. There is a good chapter on the Tuaregs of Air. Sportsmen, of course, will find here much of entrancing interest. The photographs are excellent. We congratulate Captain Buchanan on his achievement and thank him for his delightful book.

E. W. S.

West Africa the Elusive. By Alan Lethbridge. (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielson, 1921, pp. viii, 321; map and photographs. 18s. net.)

"I WAS sent," says Mr. Lethbridge, "by the *Daily Telegraph*, most certainly not for a pleasure trip, but to describe West Africa of to-day frankly and fearlessly, in order that this crowded old England might decide whether the rather neglected West African colonies had openings of which the coming generation might avail itself." He spent about nine months wandering from port to port and into the interior by steamer and railway, and once, with carriers, he accompanied General Guggisberg on a tour in the Northern Territories of the Gold

Coast. Old residents in Africa are, on principle, suspicious of peripatetic scribes who, after a brief glance round, return to England to tell them how they should run the country. Mr. Lethbridge has travelled extensively and is a man of trained observation, so that his book is deserving of more attention than such books usually merit. Like Sir James Barrie, he has his "M'Connachie"; only in his case, it is Mrs. Lethbridge, who pluckily accompanied him on his travels. Her contributions to the book are not specified, but it seems easy to us to pick them out. Mr. Lethbridge has a penchant for history, takes an intelligent interest in the natural resources of the country and enjoys making suggestions for their development. Just as his style is beginning to pall upon us, M'Connachie steps in (if we are not mistaken) with her livelier fancy and more human touch. Such passages as the following come, we imagine, from her pen :—"It is only after being some time on the West Coast that a peculiar lack of something begins to make its presence felt. There are no children here! Black babies there are in plenty—solemn, little, sleepy things that nod on their mothers' backs. . . . Black children never seem to laugh or cry or play [Oh, Madam!] and they mature early. But there is no childish laughter and no patter of baby feet on the wooden floors of the bungalows. This dearth of youth becomes at last almost oppressive, though it is a stern necessity." Mr. Lethbridge was evidently impressed by the powers of "Ju-ju," and brought away with him a stick "which has been proven to have the miraculous power of killing any black man at whom it is pointed in anger." It has a suspicious-looking lump in the middle. "Of what that lump consists we should very much like to know, but our curiosity, although keen, is not sufficient to make us tamper with things we do not understand."

Mr. Lethbridge is too modest. In his book he has tampered with many things he does not understand. On the whole, however, his book may be read with profit by all who wish to know the conditions prevailing on the West Coast, where, he insists, it is possible to live if men are provided with proper accommodation and sufficient salaries to encourage domestic life. He has much to say about mistakes that have been made and money that has been virtually thrown into the sea, but he believes in the future of the country. "Don't starve the West African colonies" is the advice he gives to those who hold the strings of the national purse.

E. W. S.

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NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Political and Industrial Conditions, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education, and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. On none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions at which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

RHODESIA¹

I HAVE been asked to say something about Rhodesia. Yes, but from what point of view?

Speaking to the African Society, one is speaking on a common level of knowledge, and it is not necessary to assume that nothing is known, so I would not try, however briefly, to sketch its history, because this has been done many times, I am sure, much more accurately than I could do it; nor would I flood you with statistics, instructing and interesting as they might be made.

What then can I say that may perhaps add to your stock of impressions about Rhodesia and add life to the knowledge you already possess? Well, I think I can best do that by asking you to consider what Rhodesia was in the days before it was Rhodesia, and what it is now, and then to state what appear to me to be a few of the main agencies by which the change has been brought about. I may say that I shall deal with

¹ This paper was delivered by Mr. Rochfort Maguire before a Luncheon Meeting of the Society held on 28th November, 1922, when Earl Buxton occupied the Chair. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 145.

Southern Rhodesia only, though much that I say might be applied to Northern Rhodesia as well.

I am trying this mode of treatment because I, in fact, knew, and spent some time in, Southern Rhodesia before it was Rhodesia. I have been more or less connected with the country ever since, and paid my last visit there early in the present year, so what I say may claim to be at first hand.

I assume that you know about the great rush that took place in about the eighties of the last century to appropriate those portions of Africa which had no European owners: Belgium got the Congo; Germany, I think, a little later got what became German East Africa, and there were other appropriations which I need not detail. It was a day for the pegging-out of claims generally.

Cecil Rhodes had certainly early in the eighties turned his thoughts towards the southern parts of the interior of Africa, and as these appropriations of which I speak went on, he felt that if early steps were not taken, Great Britain might lose all claim to the territory between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, that territory which is now known as Southern Rhodesia.

At that time the western portion of the territory was called Matebeleland, the eastern part Mashonaland, but it was all recognised as under the rule of Lobengula, a Zulu chief.

The country was little known except to a few missionaries, hunters and traders, and they were only to be found in certain spots, so it was rather difficult to know how to tackle the problem of making good the position of Great Britain.

As a first preliminary safeguarding measure, Lord Rosmead, then Sir Hercules Robinson and High Commissioner, who through all this time worked very closely with Rhodes, sent Mr. John Moffat to negotiate a treaty with Lobengula. This, if I remember right, was in 1887, and Moffat succeeded in getting from him an undertaking that he would not enter into a treaty with any other Power without the consent of the British Government. This was one step. Rhodes, however, knew that a mere policy of exclusion could not be a permanent policy. With the forces moving in the world this rich and fertile country could not be held back from development, and Rhodes was anxious to obtain such rights of working in the

country as would enable him, with the protection and under the control of a Royal Charter, to secure its orderly civilisation.

Attempts to obtain concessions had been made by many, but they had been, with certain unimportant exceptions, unsuccessful; however, the attempt had to be made again, and a party set out under the leadership of Charles Rudd in August 1888, of which I was a member. It is well known that we were successful in securing a mineral concession which became the foundation of the Royal Charter and the subsequent settlement of Rhodesia. But of that concession I do not propose to say anything, but I shall tell you something of the country and its people as I then saw them.

It was all very remote. We left Kimberley with a mule wagon, a mule cart and a few ponies. It took us thirty-five days, travelling every day but one, to get to Bulawayo. That was a record journey then; now the train takes thirty-five hours.

Not only was it all very remote, it was all very unknown. Of course a certain number of people had visited Lobengula, but from those whom we met, the accounts were neither luminous nor uniform. After we crossed the Tati River and began to penetrate among the Matebele kraals, we were at each point, more or less, expecting to be turned back, as Lobengula, according to all reports, was becoming restive as to the number of people who had been going in lately. However, one afternoon we found ourselves near to what we were told was the great kraal Gubulawayo, as we wrongly called it, and we sent on one of our Zulu boys, who claimed to be and in fact was, of the Zulu royal family, to find out if the King, as he used to be called, would receive us. We learnt that he was not at the big kraal, but at a neighbouring, what may be termed country kraal, about five miles further on. We did not like to let the sun go down before paying our respects and getting leave to pitch our camp, so we pushed on. The kraal in question was, as we subsequently learnt, one of Lobengula's favourite homes, as it was situated in a very good cattle district. When we got there after passing through a couple of outer enclosures, we found ourselves in the central kraal in the presence of Lobengula, sitting in the front of an ox wagon which he always travelled in, and which was, in fact, his only residence.

Now I am not going to inflict upon you an account of our daily doings during a stay which in my case extended over several months, but to help you to realise what the task, in fact, was of turning Matebeleland into Rhodesia; I must try in as few words as I can to describe my impressions of the political and the social organisation. You must not be surprised if Lobengula comes into almost every sentence, for he might have said, "*L'état, c'est moi*," with far more truth than did Louis-Quatorze. In technical language the government of Matebeleland was a military autocracy, which in the concrete meant Lobengula and his impis. So before describing his rule, I had better tell you what manner of man he was, and remind you how he and his impis came to be where they were. As we saw him on that September evening he was a tall, heavily-framed, thorough-bred Zulu well advanced in middle life. His frame, though now grossly covered, was symmetrically knit, and one could well understand that he might have been, as he was in his youth, the best hunter and rider in the tribe. Though a martyr to gout his walk was dignified if slow. His appearance was certainly more remarkable than that of any African I have seen, and I have seen Cetywayo. His eyes were his most striking feature—extraordinarily searching and observant; the whites being prominent and bloodshot, perhaps helped to give their glance an expression of ruthlessness and cruelty in repose, while if disturbed they seemed to smoulder as with slow red fire, and behind this ruthless glance there was a haunting suspicion that sometimes looked like fear. This was how I remember this remarkable man. What I think of his character you will gather after I have said a few words about those whom he ruled and how he ruled them.

The Matebele were a portion of the Zulu tribe who had left Zululand and after long trekking had finally come to an anchor in the district round Bulawayo, at a time well within the memory of persons living in the days of which I speak. There they were joined by others of the Zulu race from the neighbourhood of the Zambezi, and the rule of Mozilikatse, succeeded by Lobengula, was set up. This rule was supported by the military impi organisation of the Zulus, with which I am sure you are all familiar. The Zulus formed an aristocracy, having under

them a considerable servile population, and outside of them a large alien population over whom they claimed domination. At the time of which I speak, all Lobengula's impis resided, speaking roughly, in a circle with a thirty-mile radius, about 3000 square miles, but he claimed to rule over a territory not very different from the present Southern Rhodesia, about 150,000 square miles. Moreover, this was not a nominal claim. There was no counter-claimant. His impi wherever sent practically walked through the lands occupied by these alien tribes, who were treated as slaves. But this authority, though undisputed, was applied intermittently and rarely at any given spot. At the great annual dance at Bulawayo, which was, in fact, a review of the effective troops, at a certain moment Lobengula threw an assegai, and the direction in which it went was the direction which the policing or marauding impi were to take in the ensuing dry season. When one saw one of these impi returning, often travel and fever stained, driving a few wretched Mashonaland cattle, not a quarter of the size of Lobengula's own, and some even more wretched Mashona slaves, it occurred to one that these expeditions were undertaken more with a view of keeping the impi occupied, or to show an exercise of authority, than for the sake of the meagre booty that was secured. This was the fitful kind of rule over the outside country of Mashonaland and of the Zambezi district. Comparing it with that exercised over Matebeleland proper, one is reminded of the description of the old monarchies of Asia, where there was "despotism in the centre and weakness in the extremities."

Certainly over the area occupied by the tribe the rule was despotic enough. It was direct, it was personal, it was unquestioned. Certain Indunas, and others, from time to time shared some of Lobengula's confidences, but at the best were his instruments, never his ministers. No one gave an order but himself, and his orders were undisputed. To understand how the machine, if machine it can be called, worked it is worth considering what the tribe thought of the Chief. The Matebele had no doubt what might be called a religion, but this had little influence over their lives, and they were not a religious people. I mean they were not much concerned with the supernatural. On the other hand, I should find it difficult to describe their

attitude towards the Chief in words so apt as those frequently used in the Psalms of David when addressing Jehovah. They indeed ascribed to Lobengula supernatural powers, though I do not think he was to them at all a supernatural person. I will give a couple of instances.

The prime necessity of native life in the interior of Africa is a sufficient supply of rain at the proper season in order to secure an adequate maize crop as well as grass and water for the cattle in the winter. It was believed that Lobengula could cause rainfall, and when this was unduly delayed, deputations used to come from various kraals to interview the Chief. These deputations used frequently to stay outside his kraal all night, chanting what were, in fact, their psalms, to induce him to grant them rain, and so one used to hear them address him as he "who covereth the heaven with clouds, who prepareth rain for the earth." We used often to discuss among ourselves whether Lobengula believed that rain could be produced by the medicine on these occasions made at the request of the suppliants. I believe not, but his replies to them were models of oracular reserve.

Again, he was the only person to whom anything in the country belonged, and when visitors or petitioners approached, hailing him, as they used to do, with his attributes and titles, one of those most frequently used was literally, "Behold, all the beasts of the forest are thine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills." In saying that he was the only person to whom anything belonged, I do not wish to press too far legal definitions to which those of whom I speak were not alive. Certain Indunas possessed considerable stocks of cattle, but it was only at the Chief's will. If one of them wished to barter for, say, a horse or a gun, he had to get the Chief's consent, and I am confident it never entered anyone's head that he had a title to anything as against the Chief.

These instances could be multiplied, but what I have said may, I hope, give you some idea of the attitude of the tribe to the Chief. They were no doubt protected by customs difficult to define. A member of the tribe was, in fact, a free man saving his relation to the Chief. A Muholi or slave was a slave to everyone.

I would next say a few words as to the relation of the Chief to the tribe. The Chief was undoubtedly the busiest man in the country, and his occupations were most multifarious. He took a minute and intelligent interest in the large herds of cattle under his own control, and it was said that he would at once notice if there were a head missing in any one of them. But it is of what he did as Chief that I am now speaking. He was the great medicine man of the tribe, and this often involved him in drug-making on a large scale, for whenever an impi was going out, the members of it received a dose from brews made by Lobengula's own hands. This medicine was contained in large calabashes, and was supposed to preserve anyone who partook of it from any dangers on the way, unless he forfeited the protection by his own negligence or wrong-doing. We believed that the medicine was a sort of febrifuge, and counteracted to some extent the swamps and hard conditions to which the impis were exposed.

Then he was the supreme and only Judge in all disputes. Sitting on the box of his wagon, he not only decided the few cases which seemed to trench upon his own position, but he listened with very great patience to the particulars of disputes between private persons, put to them very shrewd questions, and decided each case upon the facts, as there was no general body of laws to refer to.

Even when there was no dispute, every question of difficulty was brought to him and discussed before him. The Zulu is a great talker, and in the hours spent in these discussions he no doubt largely acquired his great knowledge of the affairs of the tribe. Kaffir beer was handed round and drunk out of the calabash, and sometimes baked beef was distributed in large-sized morsels among a chosen few, while Lobengula listened all the while, often interposing a suggestion which settled the difficulty.

It was on lines such as these that the tribe was ruled, but it must be remembered that behind the word of Lobengula there was force, ruthless, undisputed, and when, as it sometimes was, arbitrarily used, unquestioned. The rule then was a barbarous rule, and it must be taken at that. Families or individuals were on rare occasions, as we heard some time after the event,

blotted out. Whether this was due to their own fault, or whether they were victims of false accusations, of which there were too many, one did not generally know. These cases, however, were exceptional, and the ordinary member of the tribe had the opportunity of leading a fairly undisturbed life. Unlike some savage tribes, there was little persecution resulting from superstition, and little cruelty for cruelty's sake.

The same remarks would more or less apply to the large slave population. They had no rights and few possessions, but though harshly, were not, I think, cruelly treated.

Now this was what passed for Government over 150,000 square miles at the time when, as I have said, the interior of Africa was being appropriated by Europe. The outlying territories of Mashonaland and Zambezia, held, in fact, only in default of competition, were open to the first comers. While, in regard to the territory occupied by the impis, the impi organisation was unpopular, the population of the tribe was not increasing, there was no development in the power of attack or defence, their real protection was their remoteness, and that was ceasing to avail them.

You may ask, How far was Lobengula aware of this? He would never have said or even thought, "*Après moi le déluge*," but I think he was more than half conscious that the floods were rising and were already more than ankle-high. His look of brooding suspicion, which was the most striking feature in his expression, was, I always thought, due to the knowledge that events were coming on which he felt himself powerless to cope with. On that assumption he dealt with the situation in a masterly manner, for he always resisted white permeation as far as he could, but always yielded when the pressure became too strong. In so doing he went in advance of his tribe, who did not know the position as well as he did. I have no doubt there were occasions during the time of which I speak when all the white people owed their lives to the attitude taken by Lobengula. But events were in the end too strong for him. The organisation there was a mere husk that could resist no outside pressure. It was not possible for his rule, being what it was, to adapt itself to its new environment, and his misfortune was the period in which he lived.

The real question of interest was what would be the new order that would replace the old.

Of the history of the change I do not propose to say anything. I have no first-hand knowledge of it, as after 1890 I was not in the country for several years, so I pass on to much later days and to Rhodesia as it now is. It might have been something quite different—many forms of development were possible; but, in fact, when I visited it again, Southern Rhodesia was in all essential points a fully-developed British State.

Within the short space of about twenty years the scanty band of white traders and concession hunters that sat round Lobengula was replaced by a white population, small it may be as European numbers are reckoned, but abundantly supplied with all those qualities which distinguish the best class of British settlers. Speaking of them frankly as I have found them, one may sometimes consider them unduly suspicious of motives, one may find them unnecessarily excited upon matters not for them of the first importance; but when faced with the real great crises of the settlers' life—drought, pestilence, the mine so promising on the surface that fails in depth—they show the same calm and cheerful courage with which more than half of their adult male population joined the colours at the time of the Great War.

While for the natives, the military organisation of the impis has disappeared, one might almost say is forgotten, and the Mashonas have come down from the kopjes and live unmolested on the plains. Slavery has ceased in the land. All have rights where once all had only burdens.

The question of the relation of the races is too large to be touched on in a few words, but the white man going through Rhodesia is, I believe, as safe from native interference as he would be in most parts of Europe, while the growing number, the larger and more assured possessions, and, I am glad to see, the happier faces of the natives bear tribute to the new régime.

As to good government, I am not going into any disquisition upon Chartered rule, but to those who agree with the sentiment, "for forms of government let fools contest, whate'er is best administered is best," I would point out that in recent controversies both sides seem to have agreed in exempting from serious criticism the Rhodesian Administration.

Now if the broad results in Rhodesia be satisfactory, as I claim them to be, it is perhaps worth considering for a moment one or two of the main factors to which these results are due.

As a cause *sine qua non* it would ill become me were I not to name the generous and whole-hearted financial support given to Rhodes by the great body of Chartered shareholders. It is not very fruitful to analyse motives—many of these shareholders hoped, I doubt not, to make money for themselves or their children, and why should they not? I wish they had been more successful. But passing from motives to action, neither Rhodes nor his successors have ever been hampered by their shareholders, and in any criticisms that have been passed by them, I do not think it has ever been suggested that it was not the first object of the Company to build up a populous and a prosperous country, and it has always been felt that it was only through such a country that the success of the shareholders could or ought to be secured.

Given, and working with this support, the two great *principles* upon which Rhodes acted in his attempt to bring the territory into the sphere of civilisation were the setting up in it the framework of settled government, and the making it accessible to the outer world. The first thing he did was to form a police force, and as time went on police ludicrously small in numbers, but always representative of British rule, were planted side by side with magistrates wherever white settlers congregated. It is, I think, to this combination of law and order from the very first that the harmonious relations of the two races is most largely due.

The second great task, that of making the country accessible, was not so easily commenced. Just think of the position of these countries on the map. The nearest point on the southern boundary was about 600 miles from Kimberley, which was then the terminus of the railway north from Cape Town, from which it is distant about 600 miles, while the eastern boundary was over 200 miles from the sea at Beira, and you must remember that these boundaries were only geographical lines, and did not when reached mean civilisations or traffics. I think it was one of the boldest tasks that was ever undertaken, and its full history is a striking record of commercial adventure, but it was begun very quietly and on very modest lines.

On the southern side Rhodes began buying farms between Kimberley and the northern border of the Cape Colony before he even got the Charter, so as to be able at once to commence railway construction. The Cape Colony Government, however, early relieved him of the task up to their then northern boundary near Vryburg, and he was left to carry on from there with Mafeking as the first objective.

On the east operations were commenced at a somewhat later date. Beira is situated at the mouth of the Pungwe river, and a small narrow-gauged railway was undertaken to join a point forty-five miles up that river, which it was hoped would be so far navigable, with Umtali, just west of the Portuguese frontier.

Starting from these humble commencements there are now 2047 miles of trunk railway under the Charter Company's auspices, running from Vryburg through Bulawayo and Salisbury to Beira on the east coast, and again from Bulawayo northward through Northern Rhodesia to the southern boundary of the Congo State. In addition there are 415 miles of branch lines.

It is an obvious fact that without this great work of railway enterprise the development of the resources of Rhodesia as they have been developed would have been impossible. Nor would it have been possible to keep going the machine of government at more than isolated spots.

Railway construction was, as he would have termed it, Rhodes' patent for the development of territories, and this view was fully shared by Alfred Beit, who partook in and carried on the work. It is truly a great work—more than 2450 miles of railway going into the heart of Africa, and now more than paying its way. It was built, as one may say, almost rail by rail—assisted indeed from point to point, at one stage by a small Imperial Government subsidy, again by Rhodesia's mining houses, again by those interested in the Congo copper fields; but through it all one increasing purpose ran, and the trunk-line work of Rhodes and Beit, though complete indeed in the territory for which they were responsible, is but a portion of a larger scheme.

But here I am bound to interpose a note of warning. There

seems to be now in many quarters the idea strongly held that you have only to build a railway to make the desert blossom like the rose. Believer as I am in railways, I must express my strong conviction that these lines could never have been built, or, if they had been built, could never have paid their way, if they had had to rely upon agricultural development due to their construction, and if it had not been for the great mineral wealth of Rhodesia as evidenced by its production of upwards of £54,000,000 of gold, and for the wonderful copper fields of the Congo State; and I think we have been a little lucky.

I have now tried to give you a contrast between the old Matabeleland and the new Rhodesia. As I am sure you all know, it is on the eve of great constitutional change, and though it has been wisely suggested to me that I should not touch on controversial subjects, I think I ought to say a few words upon the steps leading up to the new era that is about to begin. They will be historical rather than controversial.

Almost from the earliest days of Rhodesia there has been a looking forward to the time when the territory would enjoy the rights of self-government. I should also say that there have long been those who were in favour of closer union between Rhodesia and the southern states, and the Union Act provides for Rhodesia joining the Union. Which of the two futures is the best has therefore long been a subject of controversy.

By the year 1920 it had become evident that the period of Charter Administration was drawing to an end and that a change was imminent. At an election for the Assembly held in that year every member but one was returned pledged to demand Responsible Government, and a resolution of the Assembly asking for its immediate grant was passed and sent in December, 1920, to Lord Milner, the then Colonial Secretary. He replied advising delay, and suggesting that the matter should be pronounced upon at another General Election.

This was unacceptable to the Legislative Assembly, and on Lord Milner's resignation early in 1921, Mr. Churchill, who succeeded him, appointed a Committee, of which Lord Buxton was Chairman, to advise, among other things—

- (1) When and with what limitations (if any) Responsible Government should be granted to Southern Rhodesia.
- (2) What procedure should be adopted with a view to working out the future constitution.

This Committee upon these points advised—

- (1) That in the interest of Southern Rhodesia and all concerned, the question whether Southern Rhodesia is or is not prepared to accept Responsible Government should be decided one way or the other at the earliest possible moment.
- (2) That before Responsible Government is actually granted, the electors of Southern Rhodesia should be given a definite opportunity of expressing their opinion for or against its adoption.
- (3) A scheme for Responsible Government should therefore be drawn up in detail and placed before the electors for their acceptance or rejection.
- (4) That this opinion would be better ascertained by means of a referendum rather than by a General Election.
- (5) That it might be advantageous if, without waiting for the new constitution to be drafted, a deputation of Elected Members were invited to come to England to discuss the whole question with the Secretary of State.

The recommendations of this Committee were in substance adopted by the Secretary of State, and a Committee of Elected Members visited England in the latter part of 1921, having had, at Mr. Churchill's suggestion, an interview with General Smuts before leaving South Africa. At this interview General Smuts made it clear that he was desirous that Southern Rhodesia should enter the Union with the willing consent of the people of the territory, and that the terms upon which he would propose that Rhodesia should enter the Union should be given, as an alternative to Responsible Government, in the forthcoming referendum.

On their arrival in England the Delegation conferred with the Secretary of State, and Draft Letters Patent providing for the constitution of Responsible Government in the colony of Southern Rhodesia were drawn up. Mr. Churchill also decided that the alternative policy of inclusion in the Union was to be submitted to the people of Rhodesia at the same time as the Draft Letters Patent, and that in order to discuss terms with General Smuts a delegation should be appointed to proceed to Cape Town.

This Delegation, consisting of representative citizens of Southern Rhodesia, met General Smuts and his colleagues last April, and on July 31st the Union Government offered terms which they were prepared to recommend to Parliament for the admission of Southern Rhodesia into the Union.

There were, therefore, two choices presented to the voters of Rhodesia : (1) Responsible Government in terms of the draft Letters Patent, (2) Union in terms proposed by Union Government. The date fixed for the electoral ballot or referendum was the 27th October, so that about three months were given for an active electoral campaign based upon the details of the two proposals; but it would do little justice to the political activity of this very political community if one did not recognise that discussion had been widely spread for months before. Upon the details of these proposals I could not usefully say anything without at the same time expressing opinions; but, as to the referendum itself, it may interest you to hear that all persons registered as voters for Legislative Council elections had votes. Those qualified for registration are—

Males and females who are—

- (a) twenty-one years of age;
- (b) British subjects or have taken an oath of allegiance;
- (c) have been for six months in occupation of premises of the value of £150, or owned a block of claims, or been in receipt of a salary of not less than £100 p.a.

Provided that they can fill up an application to be registered in their own handwriting, or can write fifty words in the English language from dictation.

Married women of twenty-one years living with husbands are deemed to possess same qualifications and salary as their husbands, if they do not possess them in their own right.

You will note that there are no restrictions of colour, that females are more favourably treated than in this country, as they get votes at the age of twenty-one, and, further, they can vote on their husband's qualification, though I do not find the husband can vote on theirs.

There were 18,810 registered voters on the Roll : 12,353 were males, 6457 females.

When the votes were taken, it was found there were in favour of Responsible Government 8774, in favour of Union 5989, the majority for Responsible Government being 2785.

Every electoral division showed a majority for Responsible Government except one, Marandellas, where there was a majority of 10 against.

The total number of votes polled was 14,763, about 78½ per cent. of the voters. This shows, I think, the very great interest taken, and when one remembers that the voter had to vote if he voted at all in favour of one or other of two detailed proposals, neither of which might be acceptable to a critical mind, I think the proportion of voters is more remarkable still.

Upon this result perhaps I may be allowed to make one comment. It must, it seems to me, be taken as decisive. Responsible Government is to be. The trial is to be made. Some will go into it with confidence, some with forebodings, but it is up to all to try and make the best of it. To the confident I would say, Take care. There will be difficulties, there will be mistakes. Along the path you have to tread you need to be accompanied by all classes and all conditions; do not needlessly alienate any of them.

To the foreboding I would say, Have courage, and remember there is little satisfaction in prophecies of failure coming true where that failure involves your own dearest interests. Still less satisfaction if the failure be due to your action or inaction.

Yes! the trial has to be made, and, if some elixir can be found to soften the pride of victory, to sweeten the bitterness of defeat, if all according to their natures, will work their hardest in the venture to which all are committed, I am confident the people of Rhodesia are capable of building up a State worthy of their character and hopes, worthy of their Founder's name.

ROCHFORD MAGUIRE.

UGANDA AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS¹

PART I

THE following paper contains brief notes on some problems which face administrators in Uganda, and I hope that my observations may be of value to a few, and not entirely without interest to others.

The Language Difficulty Amongst Mixed Races.

There are people who imagine that the life of an administrator in the centre of Africa must be all adventure and excitement, for they overlook or are ignorant of the real and difficult problems which face the young man who seriously devotes himself to the good of the Empire and the people under his charge. The first real difficulty which faces the man who wishes to settle in any part of Africa is that of language, and the pitiable attempts men sometimes make to understand and be understood without mastering even the elements of the native language usually end in loss of temper and the use of force, which is bad for the angry man and hard on the ignorant native. It would seem to be obvious that the first thing is to be able to make yourself understood, and yet there are men who have told me in all sincerity that it is a mistake to learn a language and hold direct converse with natives, for it lowers prestige. The practice, therefore, resorted to by many is to use an interpreter. This I venture to say should be the last resort of a man who wishes to know his people and to govern them wisely. When I say, however, that a man must learn the language, it must be understood that there is some dialect which a man may master, and use over a large area in his district. The Government in Uganda has acted wisely in making Kiswahili the language for general use, and also in

¹ This paper was delivered at a Meeting of the Society held on 14th December, 1922, when Earl Buxton, the President of the Society, occupied the Chair. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 148.

offering additional monetary advantages to the man who has acquired it. It would be wise to extend this rule to include the actual language of the tribe among which a man is located, and I feel sure it would be of advantage to both officer and native concerned. I take it for granted that every officer will wish to be on the best possible footing with his people and to avoid making mistakes, and for this purpose he must study tribal customs before he can hope to understand his people. The language is, therefore, the primary problem, and must be mastered before he can hope to make much progress in his work.

In Uganda there are so many tribes, and the variations, as I shall hope to show in this paper, are so great, that we cannot ever expect one man to learn all the dialects, but one or more in addition to Kiswahili should be known by every administrative officer, and I can personally testify that such an understanding of one or more of the languages reduces the difficulty in dealing with the various tribes, and removes, what is often a barrier to success, the native interpreter.

It is, however, not only the language which varies from tribe to tribe, but social customs show as great or even greater differences, and we must not imagine when we have gained some insight into the customs of one tribe, that we are therefore in a position to understand all the tribes in our area, even if they number only two or three. We may find ourselves in the position of the young missionary who, when he had baptised his servant and wished to give him a treat, allowed him to visit his brother. The youth said, "I shall have to stay the night," and was told that he could not do better. The missionary in his ignorance, thinking he was sending the youth to a place of safety, sent him to do exactly what the boy wished to avoid, for it was the custom in that tribe that, if a man visited a married brother, he slept on the same bed with the brother and his wife, and it was courteous for the wife to place herself at the disposal of the visitor. Again, an administrator, having legislated with success in the case of the tribe he had studied, might seek to impose similar rules on the next tribe, only to find that the wide difference in their customs made them utterly unsuited.

In Uganda there are two distinct races of people, the old stock of aborigines and the immigrants. The old stock consists of negro tribes and clans showing purely negro characteristics, while the other race is of Hamitic stock, and the people are mostly pastoral with entirely different ideas and customs. These pastoral people are the ruling class in the Lake region. They have introduced many new ideas, and have been the dominant race who through their ability to govern and their greater bravery have combined the clans of the negro tribes, reducing them to order and to a kind of serfdom, and thus forming the nations we now find there. It is, I believe, due to these people that we find so much progress in those districts, though the pastoral people themselves are little inclined to do manual labour. When, however, we find them marrying into the negro tribes, the offspring is progressive and also intelligent.

The Value of Land as considered by these Tribes.

The first thing we note when we have to deal with these people is the different values they set upon the land they occupy. Those who give themselves up to pastoral pursuits naturally regard the land as of little worth except as regards pasturage, and where it is not good for cattle-rearing they do not set much store upon it. Naturally, therefore, they had little respect for boundaries, but they find it necessary to have some sort of division of the districts they occupy, because they keep negro serfs whose interests they must to some extent respect. These serfs are attached to localities, and though they are not held so firmly in hand that they are forced to remain under any particular master, yet it was found that they would not settle in new districts nor would they leave their old fields at the command of the masters who had subdued them. The negro population was very different from that of to-day, and the divisions which we now term clans were at one time undoubtedly groups of people, each of which sprang from one family. These groups held together in particular localities and their customs varied in detail, though there were general ceremonies and beliefs which were common over wider areas. The pastoral immigrants conquered these scat-

tered clans and bound them together into nations; for their mutual advantage they set boundaries, appointed chiefs and allocated serfs, who were invariably the agricultural population, to their particular districts.

In what is now termed Buganda there was a rapid change owing to intermarriage between the pastoral and agricultural classes and to the cessation of the purely pastoral customs. There was also a tremendous uplifting and educating of the negro clans, who were welded with the immigrants into a race which for many generations grew and spread, conquering and pressing back the surrounding tribes. It seems clear, too, that the custom of periodical human sacrifices to the gods was a great means of eliminating the less clever and also the vicious members of the nation, for the former invariably ran into the traps set to capture people for the purpose, while the latter were, when caught, held as prisoners until required by the gods, thus leaving the better men and women to propagate the race.

In Buganda the nation as a whole took to the plantain as their staple food, and not only did this tend to raise the value of land, but the constant change of situation required for the growth of the large groves necessary to provide food for the population made it imperative that chiefs should hold allotted districts, into different areas of which they might draft their people. The method of building huts of elephant grass was well adapted to the country and conditions, because their perishable nature forced the owners to rebuild them every three or four years, when new sites were chosen and a change of value from a sanitary point of view was made. The system of frequent changes in the sites of the plantain groves in order to obtain new or virgin soil was also good for all concerned; the old fields were left to rest and recuperate, and the new locality was free from the impurities of the old.

In Buganda the king alone had full right of the land, and at his coronation a new king took over all the land. No king could mortgage or sell land, and no chief appointed by the previous king could claim the right of possession of the lands he had tenanted or governed. The new king had the right to permit old chiefs to remain in office,

and often did so, at least for a time, but he had also the right to put into the office any man he wished. Any incompetent chief was deposed, a custom which made chiefs alert and progressive, ever rivalling one another to obtain royal favour. Again, chiefs had to be ever ready to listen to grievances and to help their retainers and serfs, who would flit if they felt they were neglected. Paucity of serfs in a chief's district was serious, because there was a certain amount of state work expected from a chief, and each year only one who had a goodly following could do the work without requiring too much from his serfs. The chief who was a poor or unjust master lost his followers, and, being left without men for the state work, could not keep pace with the duties laid upon him and fell into disgrace.

Women were the labourers on the land, which leads me to think that the better class of people found, during the period of transition from a milk to a vegetable diet, that they themselves were not suited to the task of digging, they therefore married women of the serf class to secure workers in their fields. For years after the appearance of the white man in Buganda it was considered derogatory for a man to work on the land, and it was not until they felt the need of money and realised it was to be earned easily by cotton-growing and coffee-planting that they took to agriculture.

The system of government in Buganda was extraordinary, because though the king was an autocrat, the government generally was democratic. Men of the lower orders who proved themselves competent might be appointed chiefs and rise to the highest places in the land. Apart from royalty no distinctions of class were recognised; each totemic clan pushed forward its most capable members and strove to get them into positions of honour. Through the prosperity of its members the clan as a whole profited, and for the wrongdoing of one, all suffered. The rivalry, which was a pronounced feature of inter-clan relations, stimulated the nation and led ever to new deeds of heroism and advances in culture. It was to the advantage of the clan to keep its superior members from follies and wrong, and also to be ever encouraging them to make progress. Though moral ideas differed from our

Western conceptions, yet vice was dealt with sternly for social reasons as well as in accordance with religious ideas. Not only had a murderer to die or flee the country, but his clan was held responsible for the deed. Again, a thief was a disgrace to the whole clan, and was marked as such by having a hand or arm cut off, while an adulterer or adulteress, if permitted to live, had the eyes gouged out. This disfigurement remained in the other world, where it was said that the ghost would go maimed in like manner and the ghostly clan-members would not admit it to their society. A person convicted as a criminal, however, was frequently detained until one of the gods required a sacrificial party, when he was sent as one of the number. The criminal class was thus largely eliminated, and many of those whose propensities led in these directions refrained from indulging them. Progress was thus encouraged, because it was to a man's advantage to be ever doing something which would please the master or king and secure promotion.

In Bunyoro there was not the same marked administrative order followed by the king and his chiefs as in Buganda, though there was to some extent a similar form of government. The classes were more clearly marked, the pastoral people being much more careful about their marriages with the serfs than the former tribe. Here again, however, there was a breaking down of the old regulations by which they held aloof from the agricultural classes, and a third or intermediate class was formed who might intermarry with either those above them or those below them. This caused the pastoral people to place a higher value upon land and to cultivate cereals, whereas in former years milk was their chief diet. They have now advanced beyond the stage of milk ceremonies, and all men depend upon their meals of vegetables, as at one time the serfs alone did. In all parts of this country it is no longer regarded as detrimental to the well-being of the herds to grow vegetables, and there is little difference between the serfs and the upper classes in the mode of life. For the administrator the task of getting these people to take up new lines of agricultural industries has not been so great, and cotton and coffee are freely grown, especially by the families to whom

contact with civilisation has given a desire for Western comforts in their persons and homes, and who are therefore anxious to earn what will enable them to gratify these desires. In former years chiefs paid little regard to the land, their one idea being to have herds of cows and to increase them. They, however, wished to retain the serfs to cultivate for them and provide them with corn for beer and for use in their households, for some of them would eat a meal of millet porridge in the evening when they abstained from milk. With the breakdown of the milk customs there came more careful demarcation of land because of its increased value, and boundaries were set and were more rigidly watched than formerly. Women have taken kindly to the field-work, which is remarkable when we consider their former antipathy to it and their superstitious dread of injuring their herds.

In Ankole there is still a clinging to milk ceremonies and to the old regard for the herds, and perhaps here the old traditions will take some years to die. The pastoral people are more careful to guard against intermarriage with the agricultural people, and I am of the opinion that they are the most pure branch of the Negro-Hamitic stock to be found in the Lake region. They still have many families who adhere to the milk diet, and who retain the old superstition that a vegetable diet will injure the increase of the herd and also cause the cows to cease to give milk. With these people land is still regarded much as it was years ago, that is, it is valued only in so far as it is profitable for the cattle. The serfs here are much lower in type than in other places, and it is only since the British Government came into the country that there has been any improvement among them. They still look up to the pastoral people as their lords and rulers, and are ready to obey them in all things. They alone have cultivated the land, and they alone have been able to do any progressive work in what the Government considers lucrative industries, for cattle farming or stock rearing have found no place under the present regime. It is only within the past few years that the pastoral class has taken any interest in cultivation, and they have refrained from tilling the land themselves. A man's wealth consisted in the cattle he had, though he accepted the king's

supreme ownership of the herds; as in Buganda, the king was the sole owner of land, though chiefs spoke of it as theirs.

In Ankole and in Bunyoro the agricultural people might settle on land in any place they wished, and the chiefs of those districts seldom raised any objections, because they looked to these serfs for the supply of grain for their households. The pastoral chiefs held land chiefly for the purpose of controlling the pasturage and for the watering-places, and they were expected to keep order and peace among the herdsmen in their districts. The agricultural people seldom moved out of one district into another, though they had the right to leave one chief and go to another if they wished.

The tribes on the northern side of the Nile were all more or less devoted to the land, and have for generations been ardent agricultural peoples. There is, therefore, not the same difficulty in dealing with them in respect to cultivation. The difficulty there lies rather in the problems of the right to land, a matter which will be discussed later.

Marriage Questions.

Marriage questions are perhaps the most bewildering the administrative officer has to face, and in them he will find the most difficult and heart-burning problems to solve.

In Buganda there is one rule for marriage among royalty and another among peasants. In former times the king had to marry his half-sister, who became his queen, and all other princesses were forbidden to marry. The queen was, however, seldom the mother of the future king, because the king, by custom, was expected to marry a number of wives from various clans, and, as his queen was not expected to become a mother, one of the peasant wives was the mother of the future king. No definite rule was followed as to which son should succeed to the throne, but the eldest might not, the alleged reason being that he was the keeper of the other sons and held a particular office with the title of Father of the Princes. The next king was nominated by the reigning king, and if his choice was not followed after his decease, it was decided by an appeal to arms, the victorious son taking the throne. Under this custom of a peasant woman being the mother of the king, there was a

steadily increasing infusion of peasant blood into the Hamitic stock, by this introduction of negro blood into the royal family.

The king's mother and also the queen bore titles and held ranks inferior only to that of the king, and each held independent jurisdiction over the people of their estates. The king refrained from interference and only gave advice when asked to do so.

Princesses were a scourge in the land because of their influence in the court and their immoral lives. They might not have children, but they were ever at work making paramours of the best of the youths and corrupting them. When Arab traders came into the country with wares such as the women wanted, these princesses were the only women who were free to visit the traders' quarters, and they prostituted themselves to them for the goods they coveted. When they returned home, they brought with them venereal diseases contracted from the traders, and this was one of the earliest means by which that terrible scourge was introduced. Among the commoners, marriage, to the man of means, was a simple matter, for he merely paid the amount for the marriage fee to procure the wife, and there was no restriction as to the number of women he took, except his ability to pay for them. The rule of clan exogamy was strictly observed, for, though the king must marry his sister, it was death to a commoner to marry a woman related to him.

The introduction of monogamous restrictions unfortunately caused a state of disorder in Buganda. In making this statement I am not desirous of passing censure upon those who introduced the rule, indeed I myself was involved in bringing about the evil to which I allude, and I do not yet know how the question could best have been treated without disloyalty to the ruling of the Church of England. There was a surplus of women, and when chiefs and wealthy men, on becoming Christians, cast off their many wives, these deposed wives were exposed to temptations greater than they were able to withstand. When the question was first considered, food and housing presented no difficulty. Chiefs became responsible for the cast-off women of their own clans, and the women

themselves did not think their lot particularly hard as long as they were housed and provided with the means of obtaining food and clothing. The vexed questions of housing and food followed when the hut tax was imposed, and chiefs found that they could not afford to pay for the huts of those women of their clans who had been discarded as wives, and whom they had promised to befriend and care for. The huts were therefore destroyed and the women were turned adrift by their relatives. Numbers of them then refused to settle down to earn an honest living, which they could have done by cultivating cotton and other products. Instead they gave way to the worst forms of vice and became prostitutes to traders, soldiers, and those of their own people who refused to marry lest they should have to build huts and pay the regular hut tax. It was a wise provision which altered the hut tax to the poll tax and removed this difficulty, but unfortunately untold harm had already been done before the discovery was made, and venereal disease had taken such a hold that up to the present time remedies have not been able to stay it and it threatens to extinguish the tribe.

In Bunyoro there was not, I understand, the same grave difficulty with regard to marriage questions, because there was a different system at work in the tribe. The change, however, presented its own peculiar problems. There comparatively few men had more than one wife, because clan communism extended to wives, and the fact that any member of a clan could have access to the wife of his clan-brother obviated the difficulty of men wanting a second or third wife during the three years' period of separation when a mother was nursing her baby. This custom of the right of a clan-brother to the wives of his clan-brothers, while it met one need, raised a difficulty for the administration respecting legitimacy. To the native mind there is no difficulty, because the broad conception of clan relationship covers any such problem, and communism removes all difficulty respecting property, but the young administrative officer has endless difficulty in learning these different customs. Again, though the surplus of women may be less than in Buganda, and the number of husbandless women fewer, the question of adultery is at times raised, and the

administration must be in a position to give a verdict even if it is unable to accept the old ruling of clan-brother rights which decided whether there has been adultery or whether the person who has been accused is a man who has a right to the use of the woman. Such knowledge necessitates an understanding on the part of the officer of the totemic rules and of the various clans with their subdivisions, before he can give his judgment. The broad principle is that a man of one clan has no right to the use of a woman belonging to a man whose clan and totems are different from his own.

Again, the question of fornication has to be dealt with from another and different point of view from that of the Baganda, for here it is not such a disgraceful act on the part of a couple to have sexual relations. The man must pay a fine if the girl is with child and he consents to marry her; if he refuses marriage he must pay a ransom for the child or leave it to live as a slave in the mother's clan. Should, however, a member of the serf class take and rape a pastoral girl he would be subject to death, for there could be no compensation for such a deed. Again, princesses might live freely with their half-brothers, but should any man of a lower order take sexual liberties with a princess, he was condemned to death. Such were some of the laws concerning fornication.

In Ankole we find quite different marriage regulations from either of the places we have considered. There the rule among the Bahima was originally monogamous marriage, and a man did not seek another wife unless the first was childless and he saw no prospect of a family. When faced with the prospect of being childless he would take another wife, in the hope of getting a son, which he considered of vast importance to his future peace of soul. As in the other tribes, a wife was obtained not through love or mutual arrangement between man and woman, but by the consent of the woman's relatives and the payment of a marriage fee to them for her. Here, however, there is the common custom of infant or child betrothal, and a girl is pledged in infancy to some boy she may know, or may not meet until the day of her marriage. In Ankole it is important that a girl should retain her purity until she is married, and should she do wrong before that day she is liable to be put

to death. Indeed both the guilty parties would under the old regime be condemned to be drowned, for this was considered to be essential to the welfare of the herds. Such extreme measures were rarely necessary, owing to the early marriages, for girls were seldom left unmarried after an age when sex questions forced themselves upon their minds. Strange as it may sound, it was not so essential that the bridegroom should consummate the marriage; indeed, should the bride mature before the bridegroom, it was the duty of the bridegroom's father to consummate the marriage with his daughter-in-law. Again, another reversal of marriage customs of other places was that after marriage the husband might bring either a brother or a friend to spend the night with him, and always welcomed him to his couch, leaving his wife to the guest when he arose in the early morning to attend to his herd. It was the duty of the wife thus to entertain any guest of her husband, and there was no thought of impurity in such a custom. Should the husband's father visit them it was the husband's duty to vacate his house, leaving wife and bed to his father.

Another difference which was due to economic rules was the existence of polyandry. In this province milk was the diet of the people; it was imperative that no person should eat vegetables and then drink milk, and when beef was eaten it was usual to drink beer and then fast for some twelve hours before again drinking milk. It often happened that a man had only a few cows, not sufficient both to purchase a wife and to supply them with food; he would therefore seek one or more men, who might be uterine brothers or only clan-brothers, and ask them to join him in purchasing and providing for a wife. They pooled their cows and the proposer obtained the wife. She then became common to the purchasers, though the children belonged to the man who really married her, going through the usual promises to the bride's relatives. In after years, as he obtained more cows, he could buy out the other brothers and retain the woman for himself. Women readily accepted such conditions, and I heard of no serious difficulties arising from such a custom.

Adultery in Ankole consists in a wife taking to her couch a

man who is unfriendly to her husband or with whom he has some difference.

With such varying marriage customs we can well understand that it is no easy matter for any administrator to make hard-and-fast rules for a large district. But we have not yet completed the list of differences, because when the Bagesu on Mount Elgon or the Bakyiga in Kigezi are dealt with, there are the rules of marriage by capture to be considered, and at times disputes arise because a woman has been captured and no payment made for her. The difficulty then arises as to the man's right to the woman and the amount he ought to pay for her, and so forth. Again, the ideas of morality differ because girls are at liberty to act as they wish until marriage, and should a girl become pregnant it is taken for granted that the father of the unborn child will marry the girl. There is then no further ill consequence, and the refusal of a man to marry such a girl is unknown. After marriage no woman is allowed to have sexual relations with any man but her husband, and ordinarily any infringement is dealt with in the sternest manner. Yet when the annual festivities take place and clans meet together for some weeks of beer-drinking and rejoicing, it is usual for men and women to disregard all marriage ties and live promiscuously.

JOHN ROSCOE.

(To be continued.)

ABYSSINIA OF TO-DAY¹

PART III

The Army.

No description of Abyssinia would be complete without some reference to the army, or, it would perhaps be more accurate to say, to the fighting force of the country, for the army as we understand the term hardly exists in peace-time.

The only drilled uniformed and disciplined troops are those forming Ras Tafari's own guard. These men are armed with modern rifles and machine-guns, are drilled by ex-N.C.O.s of the King's African Rifles and answer to words of command given in English. They number only a few thousand, and are generally stationed in the Ras' own province of Harrar, though they occasionally make their appearance at Adis. Their drill and discipline are quite fair.

For the rest, while every Ras and other important personage maintains a few troops for his personal dignity, and there is a small standing army at the capital, the regular forces are not numerous nor are they trained. But every man is liable to be called up in time of need; all land is held on this understanding, and every man of importance is obliged to bring a certain number of men into the field when called upon, thus constituting quite an appreciable militia force.

The army is called into being with extraordinary rapidity when required, but the numbers that can be made available are entirely conjectural. In the event of a great national emergency, no doubt, the response would be very great; for example, when Menelik marched against the Italians his forces are said to have amounted to nearly 200,000 men in all, though of course nothing like this number took part in the Battle of Adowa.

¹ This Lecture was read at a Meeting of the African Society held at the Royal Society of Arts on 2nd May, 1922. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see JOURNAL for July 1922, p. 327.

I am informed that the forces which took the field last summer against Lej Yasu under Ras Tafari and Ras Hailu of Gojam numbered nearly 100,000, although this could by no stretch of the imagination be called a national emergency, such as a European invasion, for example.

But though these numbers seem small to us after our experience of the Great War, they would be formidable to meet in their own country, when one takes into account the extraordinary difficulty of the terrain, the great mobility of these barefooted warriors, their intimate knowledge of their own mountains, their shooting powers, and their skill in taking cover when attacking.

Indeed, they have proved their fighting capacities on many a field against adversaries better armed than themselves, and in comparatively recent times. Whether these qualities could compete with modern artillery and aeroplanes is another matter; let us hope that the occasion will not arise to put it to the proof.

Their weak points are their lack of modern weapons (of which they do not possess an enormous quantity) and the entire absence of any system of commissariat. Each man is supposed to bring with him a month's provisions, but in fact an army on the march largely lives on the country, and this renders anything like a war of position impossible.

Indeed, it is probable that on this account the results of the Italian campaign might have been very different had not General Baratieri attacked. The resources of the locality had been exhausted in feeding Menelik's great army, which had already commenced to eat its pack donkeys, and it would have probably melted away to obtain food had the fatal attack not been launched by the enemy.

The pay of the regular soldier during peace-time is about \$8 (about 16s.) a year, with food, which is scarcely luxurious. Officers do not get very much more. It is consequently hardly surprising that they help themselves when they can from other sources to eke out their means of livelihood.

The Commander-in-Chief, or rather Minister of War, is the Fitauri Hapta Gorgis, a remarkable man of Galla extraction, one of Menelik's old generals. There is, of course, a hierarchy

of army grades, but the only one I would refer to is the Likemakwas, of whom there are two. His job is (or was) to array himself in the Emperor's garments during battle so as to distract the enemy's attention. I should imagine that the pay of that particular post must have been rather above the average.

Slavery.

The great blot on the country is the existence of slave-trading and slave-raiding in the border districts.

I do not propose to do more than touch on this point, for I know that it is a subject of grave concern to Ras Tafari, whose position in regard to the matter is, owing to the still remaining strength of the feudal system, extremely difficult. He is endeavouring to cope with it, and I do not desire by any remarks of mine to make his task more difficult than it is.

Slave-raiding is a very different matter to domestic slavery, the existence of which (*i. e.* domestic slavery) is by no means confined to Abyssinia. As to the former, it ought and must unquestionably be put down if it exists, and unfortunately it does exist in Abyssinia, though exaggerated statements have appeared on the subject. It is, however, carried on by the more remote chieftains imperfectly controlled from headquarters, and it is for consideration how far achievement of the desired results might not be facilitated by strengthening the hands of the Central Government so that they may have effective means of exercising greater control over the outlying parts of the dominions.

No one in this country to-day would dream of defending the slave trade, but I would like to point out that as regards social development Abyssinia is by reason of its centuries of isolation considerably behind the stage which we had reached when slavery still flourished in our midst, and some of us were fighting hard against those who would abolish it. In judging Abyssinia let us bear that point in mind, and let us also remember that her recent rulers, so far from setting their faces against the abolition of the slave trade, have all, from Theodore to the present Regent, endeavoured to stop it,

though it was beyond even Menelik's power to achieve that result.

Edicts to this effect have been issued by all the rulers referred to, one of our Treaties of 1884 with King Johannes was entirely devoted to this subject, and there was a clause in the celebrated Treaty of Ucciali on the point.

As I have, however, pointed out, the grip of government was greatly relaxed during the last years of Menelik's reign owing to his illness; intrigue and strife were rampant during the unfortunate period of Lij Yasu's three years' reign; and the present Regent has had the inherited difficulties of his position augmented by the dual regime of government and (until recently) by the activities of the fugitive Emperor and his adherents.

Trade, Commerce and Industry.

In common with the rest of the world, Abyssinia is suffering from paralysis of its trade. There is no market in Europe for the raw materials which it produces, and as we cannot buy their products they have not the wherewithal to buy our manufactures. This, however, is a purely temporary position which is shared by nearly all other countries.

Their main produce is coffee, hides, skins, wax, ivory and gold; and in exchange they buy from us cotton goods, woollen and silk fabrics, and the miscellaneous general articles that form the staple of nearly all African trade. The coffee produced in the east, known as Long-berry Mocha, is of first-rate quality and compares favourably with any in the world. The wild Abyssinian coffee grown in the west and south-west is less good, but is all consumed on the Khartum market, whither it finds its way via Goré and Gambela down the Baro River.

The hides are not of first-rate quality, for various reasons, though they could be greatly improved. The animals are not well skinned, and the hides badly prepared; they are light, and suffer from the disadvantage due to the cattle being of the humped variety. They used, however, to command quite a fair price on the European markets. The sheep and goat skins are quite good, especially the black-head sheep variety.

The demand for cotton sheetings should be very large, as

the Abyssinian population all wear a uniform of cotton trousers, shirt and "chamma," which has already been described.

The total volume of trade is at present very small, and reliable figures are only available for the trade carried via Jibuti and via Gambela.

The main routes in and out of the country to-day are the French railway (*Le Chemin de fer Franco-Éthiopien*) on the east, running from the port of Jibuti (Djibouti) in French Somaliland to Adis Ababa, and the caravan and river route to the west via Gore, Gambela and the Baro River to the Nile. Of these, pride of place must naturally be given to the railway, although its working is, to put it mildly, not above criticism, attended as it is by many difficulties. Some of the tribes through whose territory it passes appear to be under the impression that the rails, sleepers and fish plates have been placed there mainly for the purpose of supplying them with materials for spear-heads, and the telegraph wires for the purpose of making copper bangles and ornaments.

This is apt to impede the traffic and to cause unexpected developments, to which breaks in the monotony of railway management may be added the periodical disappearance of portions of the permanent way in the rainy season. Consequently trains run only in the daytime.

While I was in the country, a party of raiding Danákil descended on the railway, cut down eight or ten kilometres of telegraph wire, loaded it on to their beasts, and disappeared. A commission of investigation was despatched to look into the matter, and on their arrival the Danákil returned and removed some twenty or twenty-five telegraph poles just to show how easily it could be done.

In spite of these little troubles, however, the railway manages to run two trains a week each way (at a heavy financial loss), and conveys as many as 100,000 passengers (mostly natives, of course) in a year. It also carries about 30,000 tons of goods. By the route to the westwards is carried the trade of the south-western part of Abyssinia, consisting mainly of exports of coffee to the Sudan, which is destined for the Khartoum market, and the imports of cottons and other general merchandise required in exchange.

Former routes were via Zeila through British Somaliland, which was the main caravan route into the country, and which has been almost entirely superseded by the railway; via Masawa in the north through Eritrea; via Gallabat and Gedaref to the north-west to Wad Medani on the Blue Nile; via Abu Ramleh on the west to Roseires. These routes have, however, fallen into desuetude, and the two first-named now absorb practically all the traffic.

There are no roads, properly so-called, outside Adis Ababa, and very few even in that town, and the caravans bearing merchandise have to follow tracks winding tortuously through mountains and valleys, across rivers and streams by way of fords or over bridges which appear to have been constructed by optimists for optimists.

Apart from the lack of communications, the main difficulties in the way of trade are the currency and the local Kellas or octroi barriers erected by every petty governor in the country.

The currency is the Maria Theresa dollar, about the size of a 4/- piece, and every pound of coffee or bale of hides where-soever purchased has to be paid for in this unwieldy form of barter.

For example, if you wish to purchase coffee in the west, it is necessary first of all to buy dollars in Adis Ababa, send them down by mule caravan to the coffee district—a month's trek—and with them purchase your coffee, and pay your porters and negadis to carry the coffee to the Gambela post. I have seen a caravan of no less than 300 mules, the bulk of them laden in this way, the rest with cotton goods and baggages.

And every governor through whose territory the caravans pass levies a duty of a quarter or half a dollar per mule load, so that passing through perhaps five or six governorships, as may frequently happen, this impost is a fairly heavy one.

Thus, even in normal times, trade is carried on under conditions which do not exactly facilitate operations.

Such trade as there is is mostly in the hands of Arabs, Greeks, Indians and Armenians, about the bulk of whom (especially the last named) the less said the better, though there are some quite bright exceptions, of course.

But the possibilities offered by the country are immense,

and I do not think that of all the undeveloped parts of the world there is any that can compare in natural resources and potentialities with Abyssinia.

Of national industry I am afraid there is not very much to be said. They produce some very beautiful cotton shawls which are worn by the more important persons, and some quite good basket-work. But agriculture and cattle-raising are the main national occupations—indeed the only ones of importance—and these are, from a European point of view, in a very elementary stage of development. For the wooden ploughs barely scratch the surface of the soil, the fertility of which in this wonderful climate gives to the cultivator all he needs to satisfy his modest requirements, and the somewhat less modest demands of the tax collector.

Foreign Influence and Life in Abyssinia.

I have already referred to the Abyssinian suspicion of the Frangi, and to the reasons, understandable if not justifiable, for this suspicion.

Nevertheless, Europe has exercised, and does to a limited extent exercise, a certain amount of influence on the country, and would have exercised a good deal more had it not been for the existence of foreign international rivalries.

The influence of the Portuguese from 1490 to 1633, which has already been described, has entirely disappeared. The results of the British expedition in 1868 were purely transitory, and it was not until later on, in the reign of King John IV, that Europe again began to interest itself in Abyssinian problems to any great extent. Then the Italians entered into their negotiations with Menelik, who was ruling in Shoa, and established a position for themselves there and in the north. This was lost after the 1896 campaign, and their place was taken by the French, who, as a result of controlling the railway and the postal services and of the assistance given by them to Menelik in other ways, became the most important European power in Abyssinian eyes. The Russians used the fact of their being to some extent the country most closely connected from a religious point of view, to make various efforts to

establish themselves on a footing of political importance, but without much success. And, indeed, many of the powers have by establishing Legations or Consulates-General at Adis endeavoured to make themselves a place in the Abyssinian sun. On the outbreak of war there were British, French, Russian and German Legations, Turkish and Greek Consuls-General; there had been also Belgian and American Consuls-General.

To-day the Russian Minister has disappeared, as have the Turkish, Greek and American Consuls-General. Another Belgian has just re-appeared; and the Germans have appointed a new Minister.

Thanks to the good work of the British Ministers, Sir John Harrington and Mr. Thesiger, and of the *Chargés d'Affaires* who succeeded them, Mr. Campbell and Major Dodds, British prestige has risen in the country and stands to-day in a satisfactory position, as indeed it should when one considers the very large British interests touching on Abyssinia. For of the 3000 miles of Abyssinian frontier, nearly two-thirds, or almost 2000 miles, is co-terminous with British territory; and the problems that this involves, as well as the possibilities that it opens from the point of view of commercial development amongst others, are too obvious to need enumeration.

Apart from the Legation and Consular officials, however, and the representatives of the Bank of Abyssinia and of one or two commercial houses, there are practically no English people in Abyssinia, and very few visit the country nowadays. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it is impossible to imagine a more delightful place in which to spend a holiday, whether for purposes of travel, sport, or otherwise. The climate is everything that could be desired. The scenery is an ever-changing panorama of beauty—mountainous, wooded, watered—and life on trek under canvas in surroundings such as these is about as healthy and enjoyable a form of existence as the world can offer.

As to danger to life and property, I think this has been grossly exaggerated. Of course, awkward incidents have occurred, and a few—a very few—European lives have been lost. But I can hardly think that there could be much answer

to the Abyssinian retort when complaint was lodged as to the depredations of some robbers, "Are there no thefts or murders in Europe?"—particularly when we consider conditions in an island not very far from where we are sitting.

The cross-country paper-chases on hardy little native ponies, the picnics, the treks for weeks at a time in the country, the polo and tennis parties at Adis Ababa, are hardly indicative of life in a country bristling with revolution and danger.

State of the Country.

The present condition of the country has been portrayed in somewhat unnecessarily vivid colours by some recent paragraphists. It is, however, hardly surprising that Europe should be ill-informed as to the state of affairs in Abyssinia, for I have never passed through Djibouti on my way up or down without being deluged with alarmist statements ranging from epidemics to revolutions.

Of course, the dual régime of Empress and Regent makes for a certain amount of unrest, and plots of a minor character, not to mention intrigues of all kinds, are of frequent occurrence.

Matters were worse a year or two ago when Lej Yasu, the Emperor dispossessed in 1916, was at large, for he commanded a measure of support, and from his refuges, first in the Dankali country and later in Tigre, he was continually threatening invasion. His capture and imprisonment in the summer of last year effected a great improvement, and increased the prestige of the Ras; this necessarily exercised a quietening influence on the country. When we arrived at Adis there was a considerable amount of indiscriminate shooting about the town, and it was unwise for Europeans to be out after dark. Several houses were attacked, and the culminating point was reached when a Greek and some members of his family were murdered—an incident to which I have already referred. The drastic action then taken by the Government produced a most salutary effect, and with the exception of a few outrages by robbers the country has been generally quiet.

It is my conviction that, apart from a few outlying districts imperfectly controlled from headquarters (in the Dankali and

Ogaden countries, for example), it would be quite safe for a European to ride through most of Abyssinia with no more lethal form of weapon than a hunting crop.

It is far from easy to convey a really accurate idea of the state of evolution of the country, for it is such a quaint blend of the modern, the mediæval and the ancient, and one's impressions are so kaleidoscopic that a clear and definite picture of the country or the people as a whole is almost impossible of attainment.

And this applies to almost every phase of the life and working of the country. In the palace itself one meets with, for example, such violent contrasts. Compare the culture of the Prince Regent and his wife, the former so advanced as to read the latest Bolshevik works, giving luncheon parties with a European menu and an excellent wine list, and then perhaps the next day, the royal banquet of 15,000 men devouring raw meat; the railway running into Adis Ababa, and within a few hundred yards a man having his hand or foot amputated for theft; native tailors working busily with the latest type of sewing-machine, under the shadow of their fellow-countrymen hanging on trees in the market-place; a reception of Europeans and Abyssinians at the palace graced by cigarettes, coffee and liqueurs, and the priests dancing before the Ark of the Covenant; the peasants almost within Adis Ababa ploughing with the same implements that were used 2000 years ago, whilst bills are being discounted on Paris and Bombay. The Mosaic law, the feudal system, and the most modern ideas jostle each other throughout, and the introduction of the new does not appear to displace, but to survive side by side with the old.

From the point of view of the traveller and the researcher it is all very interesting and very fascinating; from the point of view of the people, however, I am not sure that the same epithets would be applicable; and from the point of view of the trader I am quite certain that they are not.

Politically, the situation is not easy for the foreigner to gauge, for there are no barometers of public opinion in the shape of newspapers to guide (or mislead) him, and the Abyssinian is not communicative on the subject of matters of

domestic policy, in which indeed it is not desirable to manifest too great an interest.

But, in the course of a fairly long stay in the country and of pretty continuous intercourse with many of the leading personages one can gather a good deal, and I have no hesitation in saying that some of the pictures which have recently been drawn of rebellious provinces on the verge of breaking out into wholesale revolt, and of contending factions of the Empress and the Ras only awaiting consignments of arms and ammunition to fly at each other's throats are—well, to put it mildly, “terminological inexactitudes.”

The complete success of last summer's expedition against the late Emperor was highly significant, and other signs are not wanting to show that civil war will not be so lightly entered into in Abyssinia in the future as it has been in the past.

For one thing, it is to be supposed that the days of foreign international intrigue in Abyssinia are over, and this played no small part in the past in adding to the unrest in the country. The three great Powers concerned have bound themselves by the Treaty of 1906 to respect the integrity of Ethiopia. There are no territorial questions left to vex the souls of the Chancelleries; their joint interests are presumably solely concerned with the development of her commercial possibilities along the lines of peaceful progress.

The Future.

As to the future, I have no hesitation in saying that the possibilities of Abyssinia are immense, and I am certain of the support of all those who know the country in stating that it is one of the potentially richest in the world. The remarkable fertility of the soil, the variations in temperature and climate which allow of the production of almost everything that can grow anywhere, the vast herds of cattle which abound in nearly all districts, the flocks of sheep and goats, the natural water-power, the healthiness of the climate, the probability of mineral deposits—all these factors contain the germs of illimitable prosperity.

They are one and all utterly undeveloped from a modern

commercial point of view, but there is no reason why they should remain so.

And in my humble opinion if one probes deeply enough the blame for this lack of development does not rest to so great an extent on the Abyssinians themselves as is generally thought.

Cut off from the outside world, first of all by hostile tribes, then by Turks and Egyptians, and finally by the Great Powers, Abyssinia has been thrown on her own resources without light or guidance.

Of concerted European effort disinterestedly to assist development there has been little or none, and as a result suspicion of European intentions has grown up in the country, and this undoubtedly now renders such effort much more difficult.

But that is surely no reason why it should not be tried, and it certainly appears that in that way only can the latent possibilities of this remarkable country be developed for the general advantage. For the development of Abyssinia, while it could, and should properly be for the benefit of the Abyssinians primarily, must necessarily react on the surrounding countries, and on the world in general.

C. F. REY.

THE "FULAS" AND THEIR LANGUAGE

SIR H. JOHNSTON'S article in the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY for April, 1921, under the above heading, seems written under various misapprehensions.

With regard to phonetics and orthography, as it is obvious that Sir H. Johnston does not speak the language and Captain Taylor does, there would be no need for further comment, were it not that no one who could speak Arabic and had heard Fulfulde could imagine that the latter language had sounds corresponding to the Arabic letters ق and غ, as does Sir H. Johnston.

With regard to this people's own name for themselves, it is singular, "Pul-o," plural "Ful-be"—so that the only absolutely correct term for them as a class is Fulbe. The reason, it may be supposed, that no European writers call them Fulbe, is that none of the peoples who are near them call them by their own name for themselves. Foulah, Peul, Peuhl, are merely European or Coast native corruptions of Pullo—and Fula is neither better nor worse than any of them.

The forms Fulani and Fellata are both really Arabic plurals, though the former has had suffixed on to it a Hausa plural ending which is represented by "i" conventionally, but which would be more adequately represented by "e" or "ai" (pronounced as *ai* in drain).

The form Fulani (Fulane or Fillane) thus really comes from an Arabic plural form "Fulan," which is frequently used by Arabic authors of the Western Sahara.

Thus in El Bekri (A.D. 1050) the early colonies of Fulani in the Upper Niger region are called El Honeihin or El Fulan. Falan or Filan can equally well represent the indeterminate Arabic short vowel. The Timbuktu authors usually write the word Falan.

In the above-mentioned, much-quoted passage of El Bekri, therefore, the MSS. reading El Famam is obviously corrupt, and Falan is a very slight change. As regards "Honeihin," the name "Ja Fune" occurs in Delafosse's legends of the

early kings of Wagadugu—as the ancestor of the Kayamaga of Ghana. Similarly the second legendary king (Mē) of Bornu is called Fune.

The meaning of this patronymic, “Fune,” is probably “clothed,” *i. e.* “not naked.” The “Fun” were a class of people in the Sudan belt who were not naked like the “black,” but at the same time were not Arabs nor yet “Berbers.” The Fun or Fung dynasty of Senaar was one example of this type of people, the Fulani are another, but there is no evidence to support the theory first propounded by Tremaux,¹ followed by Delafosse, and now by Captain Taylor, that these Fun, Fut, etc., can be universally regarded as a distinct and separate *race*. The roots Ful (Pul) and Fun (Put) or Fut are entirely distinct and separate roots.

If “Fun” and “Fut” (Put of the Bible) are variants of the same root, as appears to be the case, the probability is that that root was not strictly “Semitic,” but Egyptian (*i. e.* ancient Egyptian), being, in fact, the same word as “Punt” (Puanit).

It is significant that the songs of the sailors of Oman about the peoples of the Somali Coast (quoted by Masudi) draw a distinction between “Barbar” and “Jafuni”² which exactly corresponds with the ideas set forth above.

The Kanuri language of to-day is most closely allied structurally to the Bra-Bra dialects of the Nile,³ and the original Sudanese connotation of the root in question can be clearly seen from its two meanings in Kanuri:

(a) Fune—a mouth covering: the Tuareg *thigelmüst* or Arabic *litham*.

(b) Funu—a loin-cloth: whence the Hausas are called “*Afunu*,” *i. e.* people who wear a loin-cloth.

It is improbable that anyone who knew anything of the Tuareg and Teda would be satisfied with the explanation of

¹ Trémaux's *Le Soudan*: Paris, Hachette, p. 7.

² Cf. Masudi, Sprenger, vol. i.: “The sailors of Oman sail on this sea as far as the island of Kanbalu in the Sea of Zanj. The sailors of Oman are Arabs of the tribe of Azd.

“They sing:

“O Berabera and Jafuni and thy enchanted waves,
Jafuni and Berabera and their waves as thou seest them.”

³ I think here Mr. Palmer is quite mistaken.—H. H. J.

the *litham* as a mere sanitary precaution, any more than the basket penis-sheath worn by pagans can be explained as a concession to "decency."

The explanation of all these coverings seems to be connected with the primitive idea that in the case of a slain animal, for instance, unless the apertures of the body are closed the spirit will escape and may do harm.

The Nilotic tribes, like the Dinkas and Shilluks, are, as is well known, stark naked, and it is probable that the original Fun were crosses between the Kushite or Elamite tribes, which had come over to Africa as early as 2000 B.C., and the negroes.

Tribes of this Kushite stock doubtless spread west to the Atlantic, and are very probably an element in the genesis of the Fulani, but they are not *the* Fulani.

As regards the root Ful (Pul), on the other hand, popular idea ascribes to the root *pul*, in the words Pulo, Fulani, etc., the meaning of "white" or "red." That the root *pul* has such a connotation is true, not only for the Sudan but for Asia, *e. g.* Ful (Tiglath-Pilezer) = red.

It may be observed that the word for white in Kanuri is *bul*, and that the names of a series of tribes in Northern Wadai who belong to the older pastoral Kushite stratum all begin with "Bul"—*i. e.* Bultawa, Bulgada, Bul-ala, etc.—B being a constant variant for P in that region.

We may further observe that these "white tribes," who, we may suppose, in early times fused with the negro, were nomads—nomad herdsmen who lived in camps.

In Bornu and the whole Chad region the actual meaning of the form Fellata is now, of course, a Fulani, but its connotation is that of a "nomad," and it is supposed to be derived from the Arabic root فلا which means (classically) "to go on a journey," and locally to "nomadise." فلا is probably in origin from the same root as علة (a village or camping-place), and the following derivatives show the original meaning :

- فلاة—desert open country.
- فلا—open space.
- فلتي—vagabond.
- فالت—loose, free.

Undoubtedly the Fulani of the west were first called Fellata by the Arabs of Bornu, 1300-1400, to distinguish them from the Arabs, for an "Arab" in Bornu is a "nomad Arab."¹

If then the form Fellata is connected with the forms Fulbe, Fulani, etc., the connection is one of remote antiquity, *i. e.* Babylonian and Egyptian times, and the modern cognate forms to Pul in the Chad basin are the tribal names beginning with Bul—and the word *bul* means "white."

It is one of the curiosities of the Kanuri and Hausa languages that the words for colour "red" and "white," *kimi* and *bul* in Kanuri, *ja* and *fari* in Hausa, mean when applied to the people just the opposite of what would be expected.

Ja and *kimi* (red) means a person of much lighter skin colour than a person who is *bul* or *fari* (white). The people who are *ja* are people like the Tuareg people, whom we would call white or almost so—"Jan Baabseni," "white Tuareg," is a common expression in Hausa—while people whom we should call black or almost so consider themselves "white."

There is reason to suppose that this linguistic phenomenon is due to the fact that the remote ancestors of the tribes who call themselves "white," like the Kanuri of to-day, were "white"—*i. e.* Kushites or Elamites from the Persian Gulf. Their colour, however, soon became recessive and disappeared, while the "red" (*ja*) of races like the Egyptians was maintained as a constant.

There seems to be a good deal of confirmation for such a supposition in the existence of the curious classical oxymoron Leuk-Aithiopes, "white Æthiopians," as the name of a Sudanese tribe. We have also the Psalmist's name for the Sudan "land of the mingled peoples," and the Homeric allusion to the fairness and beauty of the Æthiopian hero Memnon.

Even as the El Falan of El Bekri's time were famous for their beauty, so to-day are the women of the Baele, whose features are regular and classical.

The Fulani of to-day are clearly a comparatively young race which arose from the grafting of Arab and Jewish stock on to a stratum of population to-day represented chiefly by the Teda.

¹ Those who spread to North Africa are similarly called "holotos" (Fellata) by Marmol, *circa* A.D. 1598.

It is perhaps a presumption to criticise such a high authority as Meinhof; but to anyone who has a fair knowledge of Hausa and Arabic and has studied in however slight a degree Tamashek, Kanuri, Teda, Zaghawa and Brabra, it seems evident that the characteristics which appear to be Meinhof's test of a Hamitic language amount to little more than the fact that the Semitic languages influenced nearly all languages existing in the Sudan zone in greater or lesser degree—some adopted grammatical gender, others did not, but the influence of Semitic can be traced in all but Teda, which is probably one of the oldest surviving Kushite languages of the Sudan belt.

Zaghawa would appear to have been the foundation on which both the Hausa and Kanuri languages were eventually built:

(1) Kanuri being Zaghawa modified by Teda and very slightly by Arabic.

(2) Hausa being Zaghawa modified by Tamashek and very considerably by Arabic.

From Zaghawa the linguistic chain runs through the Jebels of Northern Kordofan to the Nubian dialects of the cataract region.

To call Muhammad Bello's account of the origin of the Fulani "worthless," shows that Sir H. Johnston does not realise the extreme improbability of a Moslem Sultan claiming Jewish ancestry, unless such a claim had some foundation in fact; but the Jewish ancestry was not, as Sir H. Johnston seems to suppose, the well-known Put¹ (or Phut) who are coupled with Lud (Ludim) by the Psalmists, but the Jews and Judaising Berber tribes of the Senegal region, whose influence on North and West Africa is so well known from the works of various French authors that it is hardly necessary to quote special references.

As regards the colonies of Fulani in Mandara and other parts, if Sir H. Johnston had read the author he dismisses as "worthless" he would find that the approximate time when the founders of the various colonies he mentions left the Senegal region and went to the regions in question is quite well known.

¹ Sir H. Johnston's expression—"a vague mention of a people called Pul or Phut in Isaiah and Ezekiel"—is very surprising. No people called Pul is mentioned; on the other hand it would have been supposed that such a polyglot as Sir H. Johnston would have heard of Put and Lud!

The first Fulani to arrive as far east as Bornu arrived there about A.D. 1300 from the region of Futa-Toro, and it was from them that the Fulani settlements in Darfur, Baghirmi and Mandara sprang.

They are not "relics" of anything, and are quite easy to "explain."

Sir H. Johnston writes :

"Certainly, so far as physical type is concerned, the Fulas of pure race recall rather the Arab of middle and south Arabia than the hairy Libyan (so very like a South European) or the comparatively hairless Hamites."

It is difficult to know exactly what is meant by this. If Libyans means Kabails¹—though why it should do so is not evident—no one has ever suggested that the Fulani were Kabails; while as for the ancient Libyans, if they exist at all, they are the race now called Tuareg.

To say that the Fulani do not bear a general resemblance in type to peoples like the Hadendoa and other Eastern Hamites is also curious; for the resemblance is so obvious that though there is no possibility of actual connection, the Hadendoa to-day stoutly maintain that all "Fellata" are their "brothers."

When it comes to the question of what is a "pure Fulani," no one can dogmatise, because no one can define the type, it varies so much.

If there is one characteristic which is more widely found than any other, it is a rather full and pendulous lower lip—a trait which may well have come from the Jewish ancestry of the Fulani on the west.

That the Fulani are not an "ancient race" is very clear; if it were so, the numerous inquirers who can speak their language would long ere this have discovered some body of legend or tradition, backed by religious or other beliefs, which could have placed their origin beyond doubt.

But beyond a certain amount of ritual and belief which points to something nearly amounting to "cattle worship,"

¹ Note by Sir H. Johnston. "'Kabail' is a purely local Arabic term used in Arabic-speaking Algeria, meaning 'tribes.' It is never recognised by the Berbers, who for many reasons are best classified as 'Libyans.'"

SOME MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE WAHENGGA, NYASALAND

THE term *WaHenga* is often used so as to include an ill-defined group of Bantu peoples living on the South Rukuru River in the north of Nyasaland; the group consists of the WaTumbuka, the WaKamanga, the WaPoka and the WaHenga proper. The customs described in this paper are, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, common to the whole group, and the expedient of referring to the members of it collectively as WaHenga has at least the sanction of common usage. It should be mentioned, however, that my informants claim to be of Nkamanga descent; special mention should be made of one of these, Robert Mandere, from and through whom the greater part of the information was obtained.

It would appear that it has always been the custom for a man to lodge a certain amount of goods on trust with the father of his prospective bride, but latterly, probably owing to association with a neighbouring, pastoral, tribe, the Wangonde, the value of the goods demanded has tended greatly to increase. The fact that the term *chuma* for this form of dower is the same in both languages does not necessarily imply that either tribe borrowed the custom from the other, as it is a common Bantu word for valuables in general.

In practice the effect of the *chuma* system is good as long as moderation is observed; it then tends to prevent too early marriages and to check temporary unions. When abused, however, it is an evil, as it leads to forced marriages of young girls to rich old men, condemns the average man to bachelorhood during the best years of his life, and is the direct cause of endless litigation.

The man first approaches the girl of his choice to find out if she will be complaisant, though often the marriage will have been arranged provisionally and more or less formally by the parents while both parties are still children. If she accepts his suit, in the old days he would give her a string of *mazila*-

ukunda beads; these are large, glassy-looking beads formerly much prized and probably imported from the coast. If these are beyond his means, some other kind of bead or a cloth may be given.

The prospective bridegroom then informs his father's sister (*wankhazi*) of his intentions, and she acts for him in discussing the matter with his family. If they agree to the proposed alliance, overtures are made to the girl's family and the amount of the *chuma* arranged. This would be probably a slave girl or boy, two *matonje* (native cloths made of cotton), a quantity of salt, and two goats; these items would, of course, vary both in number and character in different cases, but goats always formed part of the *chuma*, and probably have reference to the sexual power of this animal. It is expressly stated that sheep are inadmissible, as "the children would be stupid like sheep."

The preliminaries having been arranged, there are two ways of proceeding: one is called *kusomphola* (cf. *kusomphoka* = "to fall unexpectedly," especially into water), and the other *kusaka* (in reference to the extra payments the bridegroom has to make).

In marriage by *somphola* the bridegroom, having warned the girl of his coming, goes to her village, usually in the evening, with three companions, one of whom finds her and tells her that her husband is waiting for her close by. She fetches a calabash of oil and a small cooking-pot and, accompanied by a bosom friend, she slips away and joins the party, with whom they both go to the village which is to be her future home. Since puberty she would have been living with four or five other girls in a special house called *nthanganene*, and either the bridegroom or his representative puts a hoe or a piece of cloth in her sleeping-place. This is an intimation that she has gone off to be married, and the token will be taken the next morning by one of her companions to her parents, who, accompanied by a number of relatives, "brothers" of the girl and others, go at once to the parents of the bridegroom, complaining that their daughter has been stolen. They are given another hoe, implying that they have come to the right place; no other reply is necessary.

On arrival in the village the bride either goes direct to her husband's house or, more often, first to that of his paternal aunt. Her bridesmaid stays in the village for a week or a little longer, and then returns home, having, of course, received a small present from the bridegroom.

The *somphola* form of marriage has points of resemblance to the "marriage by capture" practised among the neighbouring Wangonde. Among them, however, the girl's consent is not necessary, and it would seem that both probably arose from the right possessed by a man to marry certain women.

The *saka* marriage differs in that there is no pretence at secrecy. After payment of the *chuma* the bridegroom sends a trusted friend direct to the parents of the girl, asking for her to be sent to him. If they are satisfied with the amount he has paid they send the bride, accompanied by about ten companions; she takes with her the calabash of oil and the cooking-pot, as well as any baskets or other gear she wishes. The party halts about a mile distant from the bridegroom's village, and he has to send presents to them before they will go any further. Their advance is nicely regulated in proportion to his liberality,—a few beads will bring them a few steps nearer, a more handsome present may result in an advance of fifty yards or more,—and he will have paid heavily in fowls, beads and hoes before they reach his house.

In either form of marriage, after the arrival of the bride both she and the groom are instructed in their duties to each other by the *wazamba* (old women, midwives) and the paternal aunt of the groom.

The girl is taught that she must observe secrecy as to the intimacies of married life. It is her duty to have water ready in the small pot she brought with her, and to wash her husband after each marital act; this pot is not used for any other purpose. They should both eat a little porridge early in the morning before either leaves the house; this appears to be a ceremonial act.

She must warn him if she has any reason to suspect that a menstrual period is commencing; should he become contaminated owing to omission to do this, she would be sent back to her parents and they would have to pay heavy damages.

(Such contamination is one of the causes of a disease called *Sira*, to be described later. After the payment of damages the wife usually returns to her husband.)

The wife must provide two large water-pots, one of which is reserved for her husband's exclusive use.

She is instructed that she must "fear" the "fathers" and "mothers" of her husband, as well as his "brothers" and "sisters." These restrictions are lessened as regards the parents-in-law when she has given them a grandchild, but she may never eat with them; before she has had a child she must not see or be seen by them, and must cover up her head if a meeting is unavoidable. The "brothers" and "sisters" of the husband will be "feared" only until they have given her a formal present, usually of beads or food-stuff, after which she may eat and visit with them on the same terms as with her own "brothers" and "sisters."

The bridegroom is similarly instructed. He must never attempt sexual intercourse with his wife while she is asleep; he would be liable to be regarded as a *muhawī* (wizard), and in any case would have to pay damages. He is warned not to beat her unnecessarily, and is reminded that his chance of marrying her "sisters" depends on a reputation of being a good husband. (The husband of the eldest girl of a family has a prior right to marry her sisters, and other suitors would have to pay him a hoe for permission to marry them.)

He must not sit on a grain mortar, as this would cause the death of his wife; the same applies to a grindstone, sitting on which, it may be mentioned, is said by the WaYao to cause impotence.

He must give the bride a present, usually apparel, before she will permit consummation.

The disease called *Sira* may be contracted in various ways, all of them connected with sexual matters. Commerce with a menstruating woman is certain to cause it, but it may also be the penalty of too promiscuous intercourse. Any boy untreated by the proper medicine may contract it at puberty, and it is evidently the direct result of ceremonial uncleanness.

The symptoms are progressive wasting, severe pain in the back, often localised in the back of the neck and between the

shoulders, and "blackening of the face"; one case seen by the writer was diagnosed as pellagra, but fortunately he discovered his mistake in time to combine the treatments of each. The remedy for *Sira* is *Myakaka*, which is both prophylactic and curative.

It may be mentioned here that both coitus and *emissio nocturna* disqualify a man from taking any part either in hunting or war. As far as my information goes, the penalty falls only on the subject—he is certain to be killed or at least severely injured; one would expect that his presence would also bring bad fortune to his companions, but I have not been able to confirm this.

As soon as a wife becomes pregnant her parents are informed. During labour the "sisters" and paternal aunt of the husband are present, specifically to see that no "medicine" is given which might assist birth, and so convert what might have been a difficult labour into an easy one. This is necessary, as an easy labour is proof of conjugal fidelity; if prolonged for any reason the woman is forced to tell the name of her paramour, after which delivery will be easy. The woman's paternal aunt is usually present also, sometimes her mother, and of course the *wazamba* (midwives).

When the child is born the father's relatives salute the woman either by kneeling or lying supine, and clapping the hands. The husband is greeted in similar fashion, but with a *kamphundu* (ululation); they tell him, "A father has been born to you to-day," having reference to the fact that the child will be given the name of its grandfather. The proud father then sends a white fowl to his father-in-law, a cock if the child is a boy, a hen for a girl. A supply of flour, some beans and salt are returned by the same messenger; if the woman's mother has not been present, she goes at once to see her daughter and the child, and she must formally thank the *wazamba* for their help.

A woman must not sleep with her husband during lactation, and theoretically the husband should be similarly continent, but he is permitted to cohabit with his other wives, if any, and a monogamist will break the rule if opportunity offers, which, owing to the fact that Henga women are well looked after, is

not often. He risks the life of his child, however, in doing so, and I am credibly informed that he more often indulges in unnatural offences, which do not appear to break the *tabu*; this appears to be particularly common among that part of the tribe associated with the Wangonde. It is mentioned here because such practices are rare among the adults in Bantu tribes, though rife among the boys.

A curious *tabu* forbids the mention of water in the presence of the infant. Some medicine called *dawali* is put in all water allocated for the use of the child, and this term is substituted as a synonym for water. The placenta is usually buried under a tuft of grass, but some bury it in the house in the spot where the water-pot is always kept. In the former case it should be buried by the woman herself, and she must not look back at the spot when returning.

If a man's wife dies he sends a relative with a present (usually a hoe) to inform her parents. The family of the deceased woman come armed, and halt about half a mile from the village, and the husband then sends a messenger with presents to them. The message is, "*Mama wane wanditaya, munyane wanditaya. Watatavyara wakhhalilachi kutari?*" *i. e.* "My mother has left me, my companion has left me. Why should my father-in-law sit at a distance?" The presents are necessary to appease the relatives of the wife, who are angry at her death; they must be valuable—cattle, cloths, goats, etc., according to the means of the widower. This is in accordance with the usual Bantu assumption, that death before old age is the fault of somebody and is due to witchcraft, or at least neglect of some *tabu*, and who so likely as the husband?

Appeased by these presents, the whole family comes to the house to mourn; the father-in-law provides the cloth in which the body is wrapped for burial. If owing to distance delay is inevitable before the woman's family can arrive, a shallow grave is dug and the body placed therein temporarily, constant watch being kept over it: the suspicion of foul play would become a certainty if the funeral were carried out in the absence of the woman's relatives.

The relatives of the deceased stay some three to four weeks,

which period is called *kuvumba*; during this time they do not bathe and all wear *makhwalala* (rough bark cloth) and palm leaves (*milala*). Beer is then cooked and they shave. The end of the period of mourning is decided by the *wazukulu*, i. e. the four men who buried the body. The husband does not shave for a year, and possibly he, but certainly the children of the dead woman, wear strings of bark cloth round the neck or forehead. Finally, the relatives of the deceased come again, and beer is again made and drunk with the husband's family; all shave again and the bark-cloth strings are taken off and burnt. Not until this ceremony is over can the widower claim a new wife. Now, however, he sends a cow or other present of similar value to his father-in-law, and asks for a substitute for his late wife; this may be any "sister" of the dead woman or her brother's daughter—he may specify whom he wants. The girl chosen is sent without further ceremony and she takes the place of the deceased. She is known as *mbirigha chimwasisi*; *mbirigha* means any woman to whom a man has acquired a right of marriage by marrying her "sister," her female cross-cousin, or her father's sister: *chimwasisi* means "shaving the hair" (*kamasisi*), alluding to the fact that she married owing to a death. She assumes the seniority of her predecessor whose place she has taken.

If a man has a bad reputation, the father of the deceased wife may refuse to send a substitute or to return the *chuma*, or he may send an unsuitable girl. If the father-in-law's estimate of the husband's character is shared by the community at large the man has no remedy.

A polygamist has to provide a separate house for each of his wives. Their children rank not according to age, but according to the seniority of their mothers, and within limits a son of the first wife must be betrothed before *chuma* can be paid for any other. The husband must also prepare the garden of the head-wife first, he must not give a present to any of the others until he has given her one of at least equal value, and so on.

So in the *kukombola* ceremony of eating the first-fruits, the wives each having contributed some food from her garden, it is lumped together and the whole cooked by the head-

wife; the husband then gives a little ceremonially to the children, those of the first wife having precedence.

A man very frequently exercises his right to marry a younger "sister" of one of his wives during her lifetime, and such marriages are said to be popular among the women. He may, of course, choose any *mbirigha*, and he pays only a small amount of *chuma* for her.

MEREDITH SANDERSON.

all lines of inquiry with regard to the Fulani result in two propositions :

(1) That on their mothers' side they are first-cousins (play-mates) of the Bari-Bari (Teda, Kanuri, etc.) of the Chad region.

(2) That on their fathers' side they are descended from "Okba," *i. e.* Jews and Arabs who formed part of the early Muslim armies in North Africa.

All this has nothing to do with the "Koran," nor does anybody suppose that the Fulani are really descended from "Okba," the famous general.

The name "Okba" simply means that as a people they came into existence after the great wave of Moslem conquest, A.D. 700-800, in North Africa.

Similarly their cousinship with the Bari-Bari does not mean that they really had a common ancestor, but that the early Kushite or Hamito-Kushite population of the Senegal-Morocco region was much the same as that of Kanem, Tibesti and Borku—the Bornu of those days.

The name by which the Arab authors knew part of the latter population was Zaghawa and Guraan; and the name by which Ptolemy knew the former was Daradae (whence Wâdi Draa, etc.).

If Sir H. Johnston will look at Muhammad Bello's account of his people he will see that evidently Muhammad Bello's Taurud is the same as Ptolemy's Daradae and the place name Tarudant found in modern atlases.

As to the classification of Fulfulde, the writer can hazard no opinion, but its tendency to use class suffixes seems to suggest that one element in its origin probably was the group of Sudanese languages of which "suffix" as opposed to "prefix" is characteristic—*i. e.* Teda, Nubian, Zaghawa and Kanuri.

It need hardly be said that this patronym Put, which, as has been seen, probably originally meant the clothed Puni or Punites, as opposed to the naked blacks, has nothing to do with the place names Futa Jallon and Futa Toro, which were an earlier home of the present Fulbe or Fulani race.

As applied to the Fulbe origins, the "Fut" are the tribes of Kushite origin, which Sultan Bello calls Taurud, and says

came from the Jezair of the Nile and Ifrat (Euphrates) and settled in the west.

The Sudanese meaning of the patronym Fut, which is equivalent to Fun, as used, for example, of the Fung dynasty of Senaar, can be readily seen from the following passage from Makrisi's *Al-Khiṭat* :

" The Abyssinians are descended from Habesh, son of Kush, son of Ham. The Nubians (*i. e.* modern Brabra) from Nuba, son of Kush, son of Kanaan, son of Ham; or, as others relate, they are descended from Nuba, son of Fut, son of Misr, son of Ham. All the blacks are descended from Fut, son of Ham."

" Fut " in the above passage is clearly the " Put " of the Bible, which is contrasted with Lud (Libyans or Egyptian Tehennu), and is equivalent to Kush or Cush.

If Sir H. Johnston doubts the existence of these Fut or Put, otherwise called Kush or Cushites, he might with advantage consult the works of Glaser, Hommel and a good many other very famous scholars.

H. R. PALMER.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON'S REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

(1) I have followed German and English authorities of the nineteenth century in spelling the root-names of this interesting people as Pul in the singular and Ful- in the plural. When interviewing Fulas of Portuguese Guinea, or those visiting Sierra Leone, Lagos, and Southern Nigeria, I have seldom heard any difference in pronunciation from those word-roots, though there may have been enough divergence in Senegal to excuse the French " Peulh," or certain variants of the name recorded by the Germans in the Northern Cameroons. I have always refused to use for naming either the race or language the Hausa, Kanuri, and Arabic corruptions and extensions of the root : Fellata, Fillane, Fulani. I believe the very considerable nexus of Mandingo peoples in West Africa styles them " Fula," and Fula has always seemed to me a reasonable general term for Europeans to employ, since it is not convenient to be varying your term between the singular " Pul-o " and the plural " Ful-be." The language, of course, is usually termed " Fulful-de," though I fancy I have heard here and there the simpler and more logical " Ful-de." " Fula " has always seemed to me a reasonable compromise, as *ful-* in English pronunciation may be confounded with *fool*.

(2) I attach no importance whatever to the occurrence of the racial name Pul (Isaiah lxvi. 19), or more often Put (Phut, Phoud), in the books of the Old Testament, from the point of view of an allusion to

the Fula of West and West Central Africa. "Pul" only occurs once, and is believed to be a misspelling of "Put." Both roots are connected with allusions to the Libyans, but more distinctly with the race and country of Punt, which really seems to indicate the Hamitic peoples of North-east Africa. Considering that throughout all the Old Testament written prior to the time of Alexander the Great there are only one or two obscure allusions to the Greeks of Cyprus or Ionia (Javan), it is in the highest degree improbable that the Hebrews had any knowledge whatever of, or any interest in, this remarkable Negroid race of West and West Central Africa, the Fula or Fulbe.

(3) There are slight traces, ably set forth by Colonel Louis Binger (the great Nigerian explorer and administrator), of the Carthaginians having come into contact with a Fula people on the coast of the Sahara Desert, south of Morocco or near the mouth of the Senegal. I have commented on this in my book on Liberia.

(4) The physical type of the pure-bred Fula in West (especially Westernmost) Africa reminded me, as well as numerous nineteenth-century explorers seeing much more of the Fula than I did, of the Arab rather than of the Libyan-Berber or the North-east African Hamite. But this fact would not run counter to the probability of the Fula ancestors having first made their home in Morocco-Algeria, and having been driven thence southwards, in prehistoric times to the West African regions south of the Great Desert; then much less desertic than now. There are indications that their first rise to power was in North-west Nigeria, south of the great northern bend of the Niger; but their extension, long before the invasion of Eastern Nigeria a hundred and twenty years ago, seems to have been in pre-Islamic times from Senegal to the frontiers of Darfur. Yet there is absolutely no linguistic connection between the Fula tongue and any known language—Negro or Hamitic—of Eastern Nigeria, Bornu, Kanem, Wadai, Darfur, the Nile Valley, the Bahr-al-Ghazal, or Egypt. There are, on the other hand, faint indications in the Fula speech of a primitive relationship with the Bantu mother tongue, and still more so with the "Teme" languages of the Northern Gold Coast and North Togoland, and with Wolof of the Senegal. Fulful-de seems, in fact, to be one of the "class and concord" languages, without indications of sex, which in ancient times may have been spoken on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and in Caucasian and Persian countries.

(5) I have never professed to "speak" Fulful-de, any more than Bleek professed to "speak" Zulu or Kongo; but by studying the works of such competent European-African philologists as Koelle, Reichardt, Baikie, and Barth, by questions put to the West African and Nigerian Ful-be, I lay claim to a sufficient knowledge of the Fula tongue to decide, at any rate, that it has had no fundamental connection with Hamitic, Libyan, Kanuri, Mandingo, or Songhai speech-forms, and that if it betrays any affinities at all, they lie with the Bantu and Semi-Bantu families, with the Wolof, and the Teme languages north of the Gold Coast. The official Fula language of British Nigeria

seems largely the result of the Fula conquest of those extensive regions more than a century ago, and to have absorbed some degree of Hausa, Nupe, and Baghirmi influence. What would be very interesting to have recorded would be the speech of the "Cow" Fulani of Eastern Nigeria and of Borgu, west of the Lower Niger. Some of these people were still pagan (not Muhammadan) a hundred years ago, and they certainly seem to have preceded by centuries the Muhammadan Fula of Sokoto in their occupation of Central Africa. It would be very interesting to be placed in possession of material for studying their version of the Fula language.

(6)• As to the presence of certain guttural or faucal consonants in Western Fula, I rely on the opinion of the grammarians referred to, whether or not those sounds persist in the official Fula speech of British Nigeria.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of the African Society took place on Thursday, 14th December, 1922, at 4.45 p.m., at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi. The Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G., President of the Society, was in the Chair, and amongst those present were :—

Mr. J. Alcindor, Mr. J. W. Allen, Mrs. Bruce Anderson, Sir Geoffrey Archer, K.C.M.G., Mr. J. Auerbach, Dr. Andrew Balfour, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Lady Fowell Buxton, Mr. F. R. Cana, Mr. F. B. Castellain, Major F. Charlesworth, M.B., Dr. J. B. Christopherson, C.B.E., Mrs. Gordon Fisher, M.B.E., Sir Henry Galway, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Miss G. M. Godman, Mrs. H. C. Gouldsbury, Mr. John B. Hicks, Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Sir Frederick Hodgson, K.C.M.G., Mrs. Digby Jones, Sir Humphrey Leggett, D.S.O., Mr. J. Maxwell-Lyte, Dr. H. G. McKinney, Dr. R. U. Moffat, C.M.G., Mr. G. W. Neville, Capt. E. M. Persse, M.C., Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, Capt. Frederic Shelford, Mr. Lewis A. Smart, Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Mr. Mazzini Stuart, Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Sir Lawrence A. Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., Miss Alice Werner, Sir Reginald Wingate, G.C.V.O., G.C.B.

The President said :—

Before I invite Mr. Roscoe to give his lecture we are going to hold the Annual Meeting of the African Society. There is not much business to do. It is very largely of a formal character, and therefore we thought that it would be a convenience to Members to fix it before the Lecture. I apologise to the Lecturer for putting this business before his Address, but in the circumstances I have no doubt he will excuse us. We will first have the Minutes.

The Secretary then read the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, which were duly approved by the meeting and signed by the President.

The President :—

The next item is the report of the election of President by the Council. As I believe I have been nominated for re-election, I think it will be more appropriate if I vacate the Chair for the time being.

Mr. J. W. Allen (Hon. Treasurer of the Society) took the Chair temporarily and called upon Sir Henry Galway to submit the report of the Council.

Sir Henry Galway :—

It is my privilege and pleasure to inform you that the Council have nominated as their only candidate for election as President, Earl Buxton, and in asking you to affirm that choice I should like to say that we are very satisfied, and in fact more than satisfied, with Lord Buxton. He has very generously consented to act for the third year in office if you so wish it. (*Applause.*) I need not tell you that during the two years he has been President the Society has gone ahead as never before. We have wiped out our debt and the membership has increased considerably. We are still below four figures; we have about 700 members, but the membership would have been greater had it not been that many in these days of high taxation were frightened by the rise in subscription which took place two years ago, and resigned their membership. Lord Buxton has given a fillip to the Society, chiefly in consequence of the extraordinary personal interest he has taken in it and the great energy he has put into his work. As President we could not better him, if he does not mind my saying so, and we are lucky that he should have consented to continue in that post, if we wish it, for another year. I have much pleasure, therefore, in proposing him as President for the ensuing year.

Mr. G. W. Neville, who seconded, said :—

I fully endorse all that Sir Henry Galway has said. Lord Buxton came to our rescue when we were bordering on a moribund condition, and he has restored us not only to convalescence, but even to vigorous youth. We cannot feel too grateful to him for consenting to act as President for another year.

The Chairman then put the proposition to the Meeting, inviting Lord Buxton to be President for the third year, and declared it carried. He then vacated the Chair for the President.

The President, acknowledging his re-election, said :—

I am very much obliged indeed to Sir Henry Galway and to Mr. Neville for the kind words they have spoken in regard to my work in connection with this Society, and to the Council in the first instance, and to the meeting now, for electing me as President for the third time. I was loath to accept the honour, not because I was not interested in the work and did not intend to continue my efforts for the Society, but because I think it is a mistake to have a President or Chairman for more than two years without a change. However, I am very glad to accede to the request to be President.

I appreciate what Sir Henry said in reference to the increase in membership and better financial position of the Society during the past two years while I have been President. So far as my efforts are concerned they have been a labour of love, but no President could possibly have had a Council who have better attended the Council meetings or

given the President greater assistance in the work of the Society. So far as there is any credit going it ought to be given to the Council, certainly as much as to the President. I am glad to think that Mr. Allen will be able to say that the position of the Society has improved, and that financially there is now a surplus on the right side as against the previous deficit. We have added materially to the membership, and have given a good variety of entertainments on various occasions both at Luncheons and Lectures. It is a satisfaction to feel that I have been associated with the Society when on the up grade and not on the down grade. I thank you for my third election as President, and I will do my best to deserve it. (*Applause.*) The next item is the election of Vice-Presidents, Council and honorary officers. You have the list before you, so I need not read the names. I call upon the Rev. Edwin Smith to move their election.

The Rev. Edwin W. Smith, moving the election of these officers, said :—

They are all gentlemen well known to us by name at least, and even if they were not I think we could trust to the wisdom of our Council in putting these names forward. I move that we affirm their election.

Captain J. E. T. Philipps seconded the proposal.

The President :—

I will put the list as printed here. I should like to say that we have to add to the list the name of Sir Geoffrey Archer, the new Governor of Uganda, who is with us this afternoon. (*Applause.*)

The proposal was carried.

The next item on the Agenda was the Report and Balance Sheet. The Secretary read the summary of the Report as printed.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Report read as follows :—

The Council have much pleasure in presenting to the Members their Annual Report.

During the year seven well-attended Council Meetings have been held, and since the last Report the Council have elected seventy-five new Members of the Society, including six Life Members.

In the last Annual Report the Council were able to record their satisfaction that they had been fortunate enough to

secure the consent of Lord Buxton to undertake the Office of President for another year.

The year, like last year, has been a somewhat critical one financially, and it is only by careful management and constant attention that the affairs of the Society have been placed on a footing which should now enable it to proceed with its important work untrammelled by immediate financial worries.

The general position and popularity of the Society has been so much benefited by the assiduous attention given to its proceedings by the President that the Members of the Council approached him with the request that he might allow them to pay him the unusual compliment, and at the same time help the Society still further, by putting his name forward for election to a third year of Office. The Council are glad to report that though Lord Buxton was reluctant to accede to their request, they were finally able to persuade him to serve another year, and they re-elected him unanimously as President for the ensuing year at their Meeting on 24th November, 1922.

Dinners and Meetings.

The Society has held a number of Meetings during the year, and these have been well attended and have generally given rise to important discussions.

One of the most successful gatherings was a Dinner held on the 18th May, 1922, when Lord Selborne, who had just returned from a tour in West Africa, gave an interesting Address on "The Native Problem on the West Coast." The Dinner was attended by a large number of Members and their friends, and the President occupied the Chair.

In December, 1921, Mr. Leonard Flemming gave a Lecture entitled "The Romance of a New South African Farm," accompanied by Lantern slides; in January of this year Sir Lawrence Wallace gave an Address on "The Beginning of Native Administration in Northern Rhodesia"; in February the then Governor of Uganda, Sir Robert Coryndon, read a Paper on "Problems of Eastern Africa"; in March Sir E. Denison Ross delivered a Paper on "Early Travellers in Abyssinia"; in May Mr. C. F. Rey lectured on "Abyssinia of To-day," with Lantern illustrations; and in June Sir

Alfred Sharpe gave an Address on "Big Game Shooting in Africa," accompanied by most interesting Kinematograph illustrations. All these Meetings were held at the Royal Society of Arts, and the President presided at all except two.

The Meetings during the past year have attracted a considerable attendance, and have been most successful and interesting.

Journal of the Society.

The JOURNAL, under the joint editorship of Sir Harry Johnston and Sir Howard d'Egville—to whom the Council are greatly indebted—has contained much valuable material. Besides the Papers already mentioned that have been read before the Society, the JOURNAL has contained many Articles dealing with natural history, scientific and industrial development, languages, etc. Amongst the many Articles may be mentioned "The African Elephant," by Dr. Cuthbert Christy; "The Cotton-Growing Industry of Nigeria," by E. de C. Duggan; "Problems of Geology in British East Africa ('Kenya Colony')," by John Parkinson; "Our Mandate in North Togoland," by A. W. Cardinall; "Kenya's Tribulations," by Alfred Wigglesworth; "The Tide of Colour," by Captain J. E. T. Philipps, and many others dealing with subjects of great importance to the Administrator, Trader, and Student of Africa.

Financial Position of the Society.

The Council is in the happy position to be able to state that the financial position of the Society has been very greatly improved during the past year, and the deficit has been entirely wiped off.

The Membership of the Society, as already stated, has considerably increased during the past year. The Council desire to make a strong appeal to the Members to do their best to obtain new Members, and thus to increase the influence and widen the activities of the African Society.

Lending Library.

The Lending Library has again proved useful to Members. Forty-seven books have been added to the Lending Library during the year.

Mr. J. W. Allen (Hon. Treasurer of the Society), said :—

I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Balance Sheet as you have it before you. The past year has been a year of steady progress. There has been increased activity in Meetings, in Lectures, and in the general work of the Society; a considerable increase in the Membership, and last, but not least, a gain in the financial position, so that at last we are in safe waters and with money in hand. It is a satisfaction to all to have such a fine Report and Balance Sheet, and we are largely indebted to Lord Buxton for both. I have pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

Sir Lawrence Wallace seconded, and the resolution, being put to the meeting by the President, was carried.

The Meeting then terminated.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

EARL BUXTON, G.C.M.G., presided over a large and representative gathering at a Luncheon Meeting of the African Society at the Trocadero Restaurant, on Tuesday, the 28th November, 1922, when the Principal Guest, Mr. Rochfort Maguire, delivered an address on "Rhodesia."

There were present among others:—Mr. J. Alcindor, Miss J. G. Annandale, Mr. W. R. Bisschop, Sir Reginald Blankenberg, K.B.E., Lady Blankenberg, the Countess Buxton, G.B.E., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Miss Botha, Mr. Frank R. Cana, Dr. Cuthbert Christy, Mr. L. A. King-Church, Miss King-Church, Sir George E. Cory, Mrs. Freeman Cowan, Major M. H. Crowdy, Mr. Darley, Mrs. Darley, Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., Miss Alice d'Egville, Sir George Denton, K.C.M.G., Mr. John Dunn, Mrs. Dunn, Mr. Sydney Fairbairn, Miss Finlason, Mr. Gordon Fisher, Mrs. Gordon Fisher, M.B.E., Mr. W. F. Foster, Mrs. Foster, the Hon. Mrs. Wilson Fox, Mr. J. C. Fraser, Mr. R. F. Gibb, Mr. S. C. Gilmour, Mr. T. Lennox Gilmour, Mrs. Lennox Gilmour, Lady Glover, Lady Winifred Gore, Mrs. H. C. Gouldsbury, Mr. Harry Grauman, M.L.A. (South Africa), Mr. David Haes, Mr. R. J. Harkshaw, Mr. Turner Henderson, Mrs. Turner Henderson, Mr. John B. Hicks, Mrs. Hicks, Miss O. Hicks, Mr. Michael Holland, M.C., Mr. J. C. Hutchinson, Mr. E. Preston Hytch, Mr. H. S. Inman, Mrs. H. Kitchen, Count Lavradio, Major Sir Humphrey Leggett, D.S.O., R.E., Lady Leggett, Mrs. Maguire, Mr. D. O. Malcolm, Mr. F. W. H. Migeod, Mr. H. A. Oliver, M.L.A. (South Africa), Mr. Charles Pearce, M.L.A. (South Africa), Mr. P. J. Reader, Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Lady Ross, Mr. J. G. Stutfield, Miss Swift, Mr. N. Syers, Mrs. F. Syers, Mr. C. G. Taylor, Mr. F. C. Thomas, Mr. A. A. Thomson, Sir Lawrence A. Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., the Hon. Sir Thomas Watt, K.C.M.G., M.L.A. (South African Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs), Mr. L. H. Weatherley.

Lord Buxton, in proposing the health of "Our Guest," said:

Before I introduce our guest, though he requires no introduction, I should like to be allowed in a few words to refer to the present political position in Southern Rhodesia. During the six years that I was Governor-General and High Commissioner of South Africa I took a particular interest in Rhodesian affairs—as was indeed my duty. I visited the Territory on more than one occasion, and conceived a great regard and admiration for the people and the country of Rhodesia.

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Further, soon after I returned home I was asked by Mr. Churchill to be Chairman of a Committee to decide how the question of Responsible Government might best be put before the Electorate, and to draw up a draft Constitution for the country, assuming that the citizens accepted Responsible Government. The proposals of the Committee were, in all substantial respects, adopted by the Secretary of State, and will form the basis of the scheme of the Constitution which will now be conferred on the Territory. My connection with Rhodesia has been, and is, therefore, a close one.

As you are aware, ladies and gentlemen, the citizens of Southern Rhodesia came the other day to a momentous decision. They had the choice before them of undertaking the responsibility and liabilities of Self-government or of accepting the generous terms offered them by General Smuts and becoming at once part and parcel of the Union of South Africa. After mature and exhaustive consideration, the electors decided by a vote of 8,776 to 5,989 to undertake Responsible Government.

Before the vote was taken I was more than once pressed to express an opinion on the question before the electors. This I declined to do, for the decision was one solely for the Rhodesians themselves, and I was sure that they would resent outside advice being thrust upon them.

But now that the vote has been taken, I feel at liberty, as a warm friend to Rhodesia, to express an opinion on the decision to which she has come. I say, therefore, speaking for myself, that if I had been a Rhodesian I should undoubtedly have voted for Responsible Government. I should have felt that, whatever might be the ultimate destiny of the Territory, and however generous were the terms offered on incorporation into the Union, I should wish that my country, of which I was so proud, should, as Rhodesia, become in the first instance a Self-governing Colony, a definite entity in the British Empire, rather than that it should go straight from Chartered Rule to absorption in the Union.

I fully believe that, with care, Responsible Government can be carried on efficiently and effectively; while, as regards personnel, it will be really easier to provide locally for a Parliament and a Cabinet than to send members to Cape Town and to man a Provincial Council as well.

Of this I am confident, that the decision of the Rhodesians was arrived at with a full appreciation of the genuineness and the liberality of the terms offered by General Smuts on behalf of the Union, and with complete friendliness on the part of Rhodesia to the great Dominion that lies at her door. (*Applause.*)

Rhodesia has declined a marriage of convenience. I venture to prophesy that the relationship between the two countries will so develop as ultimately to ripen into a marriage of affection. (*Applause.*)

Now, as I said just now, Mr. Maguire, the guest to-day of The African Society, needs no introduction. He is well known as having been intimately connected with Rhodesia for more than thirty years. He

was one of the early pioneers working with Mr. Rhodes, who was instrumental—and I am sure Mr. Maguire looks back on that fact with satisfaction—in preventing the Germans on the one hand, and President Kruger on the other, from obtaining a foothold in that vast Territory now called Rhodesia; and he was active with others in making that prosperous, fertile country a part of the British Empire. (*Applause.*) Think for a moment what would have been the position if, when the Great War came, the Germans had for thirty years previously been in occupation of that part of the country and British South Africa had been cut off from north of the Limpopo. The Germans would have been a great power and a great danger to Africa. The Territory in question has been fortunately occupied by the Chartered Company and the settlers there for thirty years—by people who are among the most loyal and most progressive of British settlers.

The Royal Charter was granted something like thirty-three years ago after Mr. Maguire and others, taking their lives in their hands, had obtained concessions from the King Lobengula; and the country has been administered for the past thirty years by the Chartered Company. It now gives place to a more democratic system of Government, but I would remind you that that was what Mr. Rhodes himself anticipated. He realised that Chartered Rule could not continue for ever, and he was one of those who were confident that Rhodesia as a Self-governing Colony would make good—as it will do. (*Applause.*)

But I think I may say, having had some knowledge and experience of the matter when I was in South Africa, that the Chartered Company, whatever may be said of it in other ways, is fully entitled to be proud of the achievement of having developed and administered that great Country for so long a period of years. It is a very difficult and anomalous task for a Chartered Company to govern a Territory which is occupied by British settlers. They naturally grumble on every opportunity, whether rightly or wrongly. (*Laughter.*) But the Chartered Company have certainly interpreted their duties in a liberal spirit; they have freely expended their capital in the country, while, meanwhile, their unfortunate shareholders have not had the advantage of receiving any dividend.

Further, I know well from personal experience, and from what I have heard both publicly and privately, that in the Administration of the Civil Service the Native Commissioners stand very high in the confidence and esteem of the citizens of Rhodesia. (*Applause.*) It is also satisfactory to think that the relations between the Administrator and his Officials, and the elected members and the public, have always been of the most friendly and cordial description—a credit to both sides. (*Applause.*)

I think, Mr. Maguire, you have been fortunate in South Rhodesia, inasmuch as in the last few difficult years you had a man like Sir Drummond Chaplin to represent you as Administrator in that great Territory. (*Applause.*)

I now have great pleasure in asking you to address us on the subject

of Rhodesia; and thank you most warmly on behalf of the African Society for coming here as our guest. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Rochfort Maguire, who was very cordially received, then delivered his address on Rhodesia.

At the conclusion of the address (the text of which is given on p. 81)

Lord Buxton said: I should like now to express the cordial thanks, which I am sure you all feel, to Mr. Maguire for giving us this very able and interesting Address. He has covered a period of thirty years in a remarkably short space of time, and he has given us, to my mind, and I am sure in the opinion of all of us here, an extraordinarily interesting and graphic account of what Rhodesia was in the past, what it is in the present, and what we all hope it may be in the future. I thank him on your behalf very sincerely.

Before putting it to your approbation, I want to say one word in regard to the African Society. There are some ladies and gentlemen here who have not the honour and privilege of being members of that Society. (*Laughter.*) I would ask them to consider whether it would not be to their advantage, as it would be also to the advantage of the Society, to join that Society at once. I need hardly say that we welcome any new members. I can certainly say this for the African Society—though there is a good deal else that I could say for it—that it has done much to put heart into and to give help to the many hundreds of those who are carrying out in various ways the traditions of the British Empire in various difficult parts of Africa. (*Applause.*) As President of the African Society for the time being, I have often been told what a great advantage it has been for them to meet other members in this way and to come and talk to us on their own subjects, and to feel that they have the sympathy and support of the African Society behind them. On that ground I ask those who are not already members to join us at once. (*Applause.*)

Lord Buxton then put to the meeting the vote of thanks to Mr. Rochfort Maguire, and this was carried with acclamation.

A meeting of the African Society was held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, W.C., on Thursday, 14th December, 1922, at 5 p.m., when the Rev. John Roscoe gave a Lecture on "Uganda and some of its Problems."

The Chair was taken at the outset by the President of the African Society, the Rt. Hon. the Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G., and subsequently—the President having to leave—by Sir Henry Galway, K.C.M.G.

Amongst the large number present were :—

Mr. J. Alcindor. Mr. J. W. Allen, Mrs. Bruce Anderson, Sir Geoffrey Archer, K.C.M.G. (Governor of Uganda), Mr. J. Auerbach, Dr. Andrew Balfour, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Lady Fowell Buxton, Mr. F. R. Cana, Mr. F. B. Castellain, Major F. Charlesworth, M.B., Dr. J. B. Christopherson, C.B.E., Mrs. Gordon Fisher, M.B.E., Sir Henry Galway, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Miss G. M. Godman, Mrs. H. C. Gouldsbury, Mr. John B. Hicks, Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Sir Frederick Hodgson, K.C.M.G., Mrs. Digby Jones, Sir Humphrey Leggett, D.S.O., Mr. J. Maxwell-Lyte, Dr. H. G. McKinney, Dr. R. U. Moffat, C.M.G., Mr. G. W. Neville, Capt. E. M. Persse, M.C., Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, Capt. Frederic Shelford, Mr. Lewis A. Smart, Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Mr. Mazzini Stuart, Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Sir Lawrence A. Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., Miss Alice Werner, Sir Reginald Wingate, G.C.V.O., G.C.B.

The President: I should like to say a few words in introducing Mr. Roscoe, although as a matter of fact the Chairman here usually leaves his remarks to the end. But I have to make an apology, and to ask you to allow me to leave before the end of the Lecture, and Sir Henry Galway will take the Chair in my place. The reason is that I am still under doctor's orders, and therefore unable to stay till the end of the Lecture.

I would like to add, however, that I was very glad to be able to take the Chair this afternoon, so long as it is possible for me to stay, because I take some interest in Uganda, on which country Mr. Roscoe is so great an authority. I hope that neither he nor the new Governor of Uganda will be shocked when I say that my first interest in Uganda was in objecting to, in the House of Commons, and indeed obstructing (*laughter*), the expenditure on the Uganda Railway on the ground that it was being run by a committee of the Foreign Office, which we thought was a most unsuitable body for the purpose. (*Applause*.)

However, that is a long time ago, and I hope that such sins as these will be forgiven me. But when I was in South Africa I took a considerable interest in Uganda, although it was outside my sphere of influence. It happened that Sir Robert Coryndon, the late Governor of Uganda, before he was appointed Governor, was my Resident Commissioner in Basutoland. I knew him well and he wrote to me from time to time of his work and interest in Uganda. As a result of this I have been able to follow up matters in regard to that country. We are glad to have the Governor of Uganda here this evening, and I hope he will say a few words before the close of the Meeting, although I don't suppose he will care to go into details with regard to matters that affect that Colony.

I now come to Mr. Roscoe. His name is so well known in connection with his work in Uganda that it is really unnecessary to trouble you with many observations regarding him. I think it is over forty years since Mr. Roscoe first went to Uganda. Of course we all know that he

is a great authority on Ethnology and Anthropology, and especially in regard to the Bantu tribes and others. He is the one person who understands better than most people what he well calls "the Soul of Africa," by which I understand him to mean the feelings and aspirations of the natives.

I may say as President of the Society, that we are indebted to him for his kindness in coming here to give us this Lecture, and we shall listen to him with the greatest possible interest, and feel, I am sure, at the end of the Lecture, that we know much more about Uganda than we knew at the beginning.

I will now call upon Mr. Roscoe to give his Lecture and will ask Sir Henry Galway to take the Chair for me.

The Rev. John Roscoe said: When I received the letter in which your President honoured me by asking me to address you, I felt strongly inclined to respond with a polite refusal, because I felt, and still feel, that there are others who could much better and more profitably speak to you. It required some careful consideration before I sent my reply accepting the honour, and even now I feel some trepidation as to the wisdom of my decision.

Mr. Roscoe then delivered his Lecture on "Uganda and some of its Problems," which is given on p. 96.

The Chairman (Sir Henry Galway) at the close of the Lecture said:—

Before asking you to pass a vote of thanks to Mr. Roscoe for his interesting paper, I have no doubt some of you would like to speak on the matters put before us by the Lecturer, especially Sir Geoffrey Archer, the newly appointed Governor of Uganda.

As regards myself, I am unfortunately unacquainted with Uganda except in what I have read about that Colony. My knowledge and experience of Africa is entirely confined to West Africa, where I spent nearly fifteen years in Nigeria and Senegal.

I have always regarded Uganda as the Sportsman's Paradise, and I would have preferred to hear something about the wild and game animals of that country, even more than about the relations existing between the two sexes!

Many of the customs which the Lecturer has told us about, especially sexual relations, have no doubt shocked many of you. Native custom, however, when bad, can only be broken down by very slow degrees. To be in a hurry is a fatal mistake, and one which was very much indulged in in bygone years by our administrators. In Africa you must make haste slowly, *festina lente*; or perhaps it is better expressed in the pigeon English of the West African, "Softly, softly, catchee monkey." It must be remembered that these customs are tradition, having come down from time immemorial, and to the natives they are quite in order! Time alone can bring about a change where customs are really bad. I will now ask Sir Geoffrey Archer to give us his views on the paper.

Sir Geoffrey Archer: The Chairman has invited me to say something of Uganda, but I am diffident about doing so, for it is just over twenty years since I left the country. In those days it was a country merely of great promise and possibilities—a land where the staple food of the people could be grown practically without labour, and where almost anything could be grown perhaps better than anywhere else. The possibilities then led us all to expect great developments. I am not in a position to tell you of the developments that have, in fact, taken place, and what still remains to be done in the country. Mr. Roscoe has told us a good deal about interesting native customs. Our Chairman has commented on that, so I need not say more, beyond congratulating Mr. Roscoe on his Lecture. I first met Mr. Roscoe in Uganda twenty years ago, when he was a member of a body of devoted men, the Church Missionary Society, who were toiling incessantly and with much success among the native population, tending their spiritual, their medical, their educational needs. (*Hear, hear.*) I should like to take this opportunity of saying, in this regard, that there is probably no other country where missionary enterprise—both Roman Catholic and Protestant—has been exerted more beneficently. I should also like to say that the country has been splendidly staffed with British officials working with tact and comprehension for the social uplifting of the natives and the general development of the country. Nowhere in tropical Africa, I believe, have results more brilliant been achieved. If Uganda is primarily a native State, it is also a land where the labour of the local population can be organised and directed by the higher skill of the white man using external capital; and great things have already been done. It has now been proved that perhaps nowhere else in the world, or anyhow in Africa, can cotton be produced more successfully, more easily, or more perfectly than in Uganda. It is a great thing for a country to have a staple product. Uganda has found that in cotton: it is the making of the country. Last year, I believe, over 80,000 bales of cotton were exported: this year I am credibly informed that the total cotton output will not be less than 100,000 bales, and that the yield may be 120,000 bales. Those are not the official figures, but they are a reasonable anticipation and very remarkable. Besides cotton, other industries are rapidly springing into life, important among these being sugar production, which is only being developed to the full now. In the old days the country was full of sugar-cane growing like a weed, and we may hope that under scientific direction sugar will prove a staple and valuable product. At all events one feels that a very great start has been made in Uganda. There is doubtless much still to be done, but a good beginning has been made, and there is every possibility of much further development. So far as I am personally concerned, I am very happy to think I shall have an opportunity of taking a hand in the great work ahead. (*Applause.*)

Major Sir Humphrey Leggett said: It is a great pleasure to respond to the invitation of the Chairman to say a few words, for as one who has been a good deal in Uganda, though neither as a Government official nor as a

missionary, I think that it is a good thing to have an opportunity to say publicly what magnificent work has been and is being done by those two bodies of people. (*Hear, hear.*) They don't always get their due. Missionaries are sometimes criticised for being too soft-hearted in regard to the welfare of the people they are working amongst. They are accused of trying constantly to enforce their own point of view. As you say, that is a matter which it is not wise to be in a hurry about. The Government official also is not always given his due. This perhaps is because the critics do not always recognise that a Government official, when he appears to be standing up for the native, is really standing up for the future of the country, for all its people, black and white, and for modern civilisation, and, in particular, our part of it—British civilisation, British fair play, and British ideas. It is a pleasure, therefore, to bear testimony of the men of our race who administer Uganda, and to say that they never forget these things. They put them first—fair play for all, British fair play, British honesty. They take a long view, not the get-rich-quickly and get-out view, but a recognition of the important part which the country they are administering is bound to play in the future in the British Empire. It is the early stages of a new country that are important; for on the way in which it is handled now depends its condition not for a few generations but for centuries. Mr. Roscoe has dealt with native habits and customs. I have no doubt that he could have given us many interesting remarks on sport also, as he is an authority. But he has chosen to take into his chief consideration native customs and such-like various matters which go to the root of the character of the people. This is important, for unless these points are recognised and studied, as they are by missionaries and Government officials and the Administration, it is impossible to handle these people properly and bring them into line with the newer opportunities which come of communication and touch with the outside world and contact with Western civilisation. You must get below the skin of a man to understand him. You must know something of these points which lie below the surface, and are not always noticed by the ordinary observer. It is on their old traditions that we are to build up the new traditions, and therefore old native customs are all worthy of the deepest study. In the final paragraph the Lecturer said that the future depended on education. Now when you, Sir Geoffrey, go to that country you will find there a Director of Technical Education, Mr. Hugh Savile, a man for whom all who know him have the deepest respect. He is an engineer, I think, by training, and was recently appointed Director of Technical Education. I know of no better training for one who is to give technical education than that of an engineer. That appointment is the first of its kind in Uganda, or perhaps anywhere in tropical Africa. He is going to direct those people to Western civilisation, and to do it on sound lines, which are not merely arithmetic, reading and writing, but actually practical work. That is a very good step. Let us all hope it will be given fullest scope and support. Our Lecturer said that in regard to education no force should be applied to get the native to

adopt modern methods—very true—and, in other words, they should be led and not driven along the road. That way lies success. It is through technical education and careful handling by the administrative officers that the native millions will be led to pull their weight in the world. May I venture on a small correction of the cotton figures quoted by Sir Geoffrey Archer. Last year, as he said, the shipment of cotton was 80,000 bales, but only 20,000 were actually produced last season. That is to say, the season 1922 produced 20,000 bales, the 1921 season 80,000 and 1920 season 70,000. The figures are wonderful, the value anything from one million to one and a half millions per annum on the average. I venture to suggest to the new Governor one reason why the crop fell so heavily, from 80,000 in 1921 to 20,000 in 1922. It was partly due to the high taxation levied on the natives in 1921, which had hardly been raised before since 1914. As the crop values rose, so did the taxation, and it was difficult to assure the natives that they would get the full value of their crops. The result was that the crop planting in 1921 fell by fifty per cent., and the harvest of that planting, partly also because it was a bad weather season, fell seventy-five per cent. From that we all learned something. The Colonial Office have recognised it, and the taxation has been somewhat reduced. Great efforts are being made throughout the British Empire to develop cotton, and I think it is not altogether desirable that when a product is developed a specific tax should be at once placed upon it. There is an export tax on all the cotton grown in Uganda, which in effect is an income tax on the natives who grow cotton. It is three-farthings a pound. That tax is equal to an income tax of fifteen per cent., in addition to their hut or poll taxes. That needs looking into. I say, don't put direct tax on actual production.

Now I would only add one word to what Sir Henry Galway said as to the new Governor of Uganda. We wish Sir Geoffrey Archer not only success, but all that his great record in Somaliland, from which he has just returned as Governor, leads us to expect. His past record leads us to believe that he will have great success as Governor of Uganda. We wish him that, and we thank him for coming to the Society to-day. We trust he will come again when he returns to England, and will honour this Society by speaking on the fruits of his term of office in the important and high post he is shortly going out to assume. (*Applause.*)

The Chairman : I was waiting to offer the felicitations and congratulations of the Society to Sir Geoffrey Archer on his appointment. He goes out with our belief in his success. His past services and career point to what cannot be other than a successful administration. Sir Humphrey Leggett, however, has said what was in my mind on the subject, and therefore nothing remains for me but to wish him good luck and God-speed. I now ask you to record your thanks to Mr. Roscoe for his interesting paper. (*Applause.*)

The Rev. John Roscoe, replying, said : I thank you for listening so attentively to my paper, which had to be read very rapidly. There is one

point I should like to add on the matter of education. I tried to keep to my subject of Problems for Administrators. I think the new Governor will find he has a people who are keen to learn and who are anxious to learn. I have had a letter from a Chief who wants his son to come to England to learn engineering. He has written: "Can you help me to get my boy to England to learn engineering?" I was going to write to the Governor to ask him to help me in the matter, though I do not wish the boy to be brought to England, for to put one of those Christian lads through an English engineering shop would be ruinous. It is not a question of one lad only. There are boys being trained as doctors, carpenters, brick-makers, and all kinds of things. This is our opportunity for educating. When I spoke of people being forced into service for work I had in mind some of the native tribes on the far side of the Nile, between the Nile and Abyssinia, who require neither clothing nor our products. Wherever I stayed I tried to make friends with these natives; they carried my loads though I had nothing they valued to give in return. The one thing they said was, "He is one of us; let us help him." At another place they said, "There are men waiting in front of you to kill you." And I sent them to say they cannot do it; let them come and try. The result was I passed through safely. But why? Because they thought I had magic. So I had. I had knowledge. I knew the people and their superstitions, that they could not kill me if I said they could not, because they feared magic. Train them as you want them for work, and then they will want and work for the things we have. When we told men years ago to dig, they said that was the work of women, and we had to teach them the value of labour. Now they are doing it to obtain Western products. Then, as to taxation, they have never been taxed before. They are willing to be taxed on things they purchase, not on what they produce. We have to educate the people to want things, create the desire, and other things of the right kind will follow.

At the close of *Mr. Roscoe's* reply, the Meeting terminated.

EDITORIAL NOTES

SOME months ago a South African journalist penned a few perfectly innocent words that he has probably since bitterly regretted. His subject was the visit of General Smuts to Rhodesia, and he remarked that, if Southern Rhodesia joined the Union, Northern Rhodesia would probably follow in due course, in which event the territory of the Union would extend from the Cape to Lake Tanganyika. Perhaps the printer's devil of the Johannesburg *Star* was importunate for his copy; perhaps the writer was in a hurry to complete his work and get home to bed; whatever his excuse, he wrote the fatal words, and there is no reason to suppose that his dreams that night were troubled by fears that they would set Belgian sabres rattling. It is difficult to see in the remark of the *Star's* correspondent anything more sinister than a harmless statement of a geographical fact that would arise from an event which as a matter of fact did not take place. The Brussel's paper *La Politique*, however, regards it as evidence that the Union of South Africa has predatory designs on the Katanga mines, and in its issue of November 19th called on the Belgian public to realise that Katanga lacks artillery, machine-guns and personnel with which to resist invasion from the south.

A whole host of arguments might be used to soothe Belgian fears. One might, for example, recapitulate the events which brought the British Empire to Belgium's aid on August 4th, 1914. But since the making of mountains out of molehills is unprofitable labour, it seems even better to emphasise the humorous aspect of the matter. In this we have the possibly unintentional assistance of some other Belgian journals which urge that it would be unwise to teach the natives of the Congo the Flemish language, because Flemish is very similar to Dutch, Dutch is one of the official languages of the Union of South Africa, and a knowledge of Flemish might therefore lead to the Congo natives becoming imbued with South African ideals to the danger of the Congo

States' integrity! Æsop has a fable of a mountain in labour that brought forth a mouse. The situation unwittingly created by the correspondent of the *Johannesburg Star* is even more ludicrous, for in this case we find a mouse giving birth to what *La Politique* wishes its readers to regard as a mountain.

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FEW of the wedding presents received by Princess Mary can have for her more vividly interesting **The "King's Child" and the Women of Ashanti.** associations than the one she received from Ashanti.

Sewa Akoto of Mampon, the Senior Queen-Mother of Ashanti, who represented all the Queen-Mothers and women of Ashanti. The present consisted of a sum of £800, which by desire of the Princess is to be devoted to hospital work in the Gold Coast Colony, and of a silver stool carved by Ashanti stool-makers and embossed by Ashanti silversmiths. The presentation to Her Royal Highness did not take place until some considerable time after her wedding, because the gift was not such as can be bought ready made in a shop. The spirit of the tree that gave its wood to the stool had to be propitiated by prayer and sacrifice before it could be cut down, and the carving, the embossing and the consecration of the stool were all accompanied by elaborate ritual. The whole process—a process of great ethnological interest—is described in a book, written by Captain Rattray, of the Gold Coast Political Service, and printed and bound by local native craftsmen, which accompanied the gift. In England a stool is a useful but commonplace article of furniture; in Ashanti it is a symbol. Lest Her Royal Highness should miss its significance, the Queen-Mother sent with it an explanatory letter in which she wrote :

"This stool we give gladly. It does not contain our soul, as our Golden Stool does, but it contains all the love of us Queen-Mothers and of our women. The spirit of this love we have bound to the stool with silver fetters, just as we are accustomed to bind our own spirits to the base of our stools."

The letter then explains Ashanti custom with regard to royal descent through the female line and concludes :

"We pray the great God Nyankopon that He may give the King's child and her husband long life and happiness, and finally when she

sits upon this silver stool, which the women of Ashanti have made for their white Queen-Mother, may she call us to mind."

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WE do not know who it was who worked the ancient gold mines of Rhodesia, except that it was almost certainly the same people that built Zimbabwe and other stone-walled villages of Mashonaland. The Portuguese *conquistadores* believed that Zimbabwe was the palace of the Queen of Sheba, and that the ancient mines supplied the gold for Solomon's temple. Dapper, the Dutch geographer (A.D. 1670), considered that Zimbabwe was built by the devil! Some regard it as the work of the ten lost tribes of Israel! Theodore Bent in 1891 supposed it to have been built by Sabeans, and in 1905 Professor Randall MacIver, on the strength of some fragments of Oriental pottery found in other ruins, declared the stone edifices to be of native workmanship and not older than the thirteenth century. Professor MacIver's arguments were not universally accepted as conclusive, and the question of the origin of the ruins and the ancient gold mines remains open. In September last a discovery was made which may throw light on the subject. An ancient working near Gwanda was reopened, and in it was found the skeleton of a human being holding in the hand a stone hammer. It is supposed from the position of the skeleton that the ancient miner was actually at work when a fall of earth entombed him. The skull has been sent to Professor Sir Arthur Keith for examination. Should it prove to be that of an Asiatic the theory that attributes the ruins to Phoenician or Sabeian workmanship will be strengthened if not absolutely proved. If, on the other hand, the skull is found to be of an African type, the controversy will remain where it was before, for it is to be supposed that the ancient Asiatic colonists of Mashonaland, if they ever existed, made use of local native labour.

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THE Senate of the University of London has set on foot a scheme to supplement the work of the London University and Remote Languages. School of Oriental Languages by investigating all remote languages. On this subject Mr. A. Lloyd-James of the Phonetics Department of

University College gave an interview to a representative of *West Africa* in which he said, "The function of the Phonetics Department is systematically to analyse the structure of a language, which we are enabled to do by long and constant training. We pay no attention to the way in which a language is written down. We analyse the sounds of a language which we recognise as we hear them." The London University hopes on these lines to establish an institution with all the particulars of every remote language at its disposal and facilities for teaching them to traders, missionaries, administrators and all who may require it. It is estimated that the scheme will cost two hundred thousand pounds. In view of its commercial importance Mr. Lloyd-James suggests that big corporations trading with Africa might well consider it worth while to contribute towards the cost.

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MRS. CASELY HAYFORD, wife of a prominent native member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, has recently visited England after a two years' tour in the United States, which she undertook for the purpose of studying negro educational problems, and in the hopes of enlisting sympathy in her wish to establish a technical and industrial training school for girls in Sierra Leone. Mrs. Hayford is a woman with very broad views that will be shared by all who deplore the indiscriminate Europeanisation of the African. On the ground that African dress is suited to the African climate and the African personality, she deprecates the attempt of African women to ape European fashions. She realises, too, the evil of too literary an education for African women. Instead of the three R's she wishes to instil a knowledge of three B's—the Bible, the bath and the broom. She hopes with the help of the Phelps-Stokes fund to form a responsible committee in London composed of all sections of the community interested in West Africa, so as to enlist all-round sympathy in her work, which, on the ground that the improvement of women results in the improvement of men, she claims is of vital importance to the coming generations in Africa. Mrs. Hayford deserves success, for by recognising the ineradicable distinctions between her own people and

Europeans she goes far to destroy barriers of misunderstanding and race prejudice.

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It may be that many even of those who have a fairly intimate knowledge of Africa might suppose that the sub-commission appointed by the League of Nations to investigate the recrudescence of slavery in Africa would find little evidence of its existence outside Abyssinia. In October last, however, the magistrate at Mombasa sentenced an Arab to ten years' imprisonment and a fine of £100 for exporting two native boys in a dhow to Arabia as slaves. In Morocco, too, the French police have recently caught a gang of slave-traders red-handed. They raided a café in the suburbs of Casablanca and found a number of Arab and Moor slave-dealers and some women and children who had been sold and were awaiting transfer to the interior. At the moment of the raid a young Moorish woman with a baby had just been bought for 350 francs, and five young women were on the point of being offered for sale.

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ALTHOUGH the auction of ex-German property in Kamerun was well attended the results were disappointing. Only one estate was sold at a satisfactory price. This, Idenenu, is a well-planted and fairly productive estate of 9,884 acres, well equipped with buildings, machinery, tools, stores and a small-gauge railway. It was knocked down after brisk bidding for £16,500, a price equal to about £1 14s. an acre. £1,000 was offered for two estates of 827 and 824 acres respectively, but these lots were withdrawn. It was stated in the auctioneer's particulars that the latter property had reverted to bush, and that the buildings on the former were in a dilapidated condition. There seemed to be a general impression that the reserve price placed on the lots was too high. The sum of £600 was offered for Malinde, an estate of only 216 acres only half planted, and containing one small zinc house. Although this bid was equivalent to nearly £3 per acre it was not accepted. Only one bid, £5,000, was made for the Bibundi estate, recently damaged by a volcanic eruption. Bids of £45,000, £12,000,

**Slave Trade
in Africa.**

**Sale of ex-
enemy Kamerun
Property.**

£14,150 and £25,000 were refused for the Molime, Misselelle, Meanta and Mukonje estates respectively. Six lots only were sold, at a total price of £21,000.

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THE proposal to create a new port for the Transvaal on the **Proposed Zululand Port.** Zululand coast has recently come very much to the front as a result of a discovery, the credit of which is primarily due to General Smuts, of a possible harbour hitherto unthought of. In the past, Richards Bay, St. Lucia Bay, Gordwana Bay, Kosi Bay, and Sibayu have all been proposed. In September last General Smuts, who is a pioneer as well as a statesman, visited the Zululand coast to examine for himself the possibility of making any of these into a harbour. The account of his discovery is more like a romance than the staid chronicle of an official journey of a modern Premier. On September 15th he reached Kosi, and immediately went to inspect the outlet from the lagoon into the sea. As the outlet is narrow and so obstructed with sand that the sea reaches Kosi Lake only at spring tides, it needed no expert engineer to tell General Smuts that the deepening of it to afford a passage for ocean-going steamers would be a difficult and costly undertaking. The Premier, however, sent for the Tonga chief, questioned him, and came to the conclusion that the position of Kosi Lake as given on the official charts is inaccurate. He then mounted a horse and, followed by some members of his party, rode at the gallop along the firm sand that fringes the Nhlang Water. After a twelve-mile ride he found what he sought—a narrow neck of land four hundred and fifty yards across and forty feet high, the only barrier between the ocean and a lake that, if a canal were cut through this neck, could be made into the biggest harbour in the world. Here beyond a doubt was the harbour which the Union was seeking; and it was the foremost man in the Union in person who had discovered it.

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NHLANGE water covers an area of some twenty square miles.

**The Possibilities
of Nhlang
Harbour.**

On the evidence of the natives, who declare that they have not found bottom in it, it is estimated to be at least sixty

fathoms deep. It seems that all that is required to give the Union a harbour such as no other country can boast is a canal some five hundred yards long. If this were done the Union would have in its own territory a port almost as close to the Transvaal border as is Lourenço Marques, and more than a hundred miles nearer the Rand than is Durban. The Premier's discovery has caused consternation in Durban, which derives 70 per cent. of its business from its harbour, on which from first to last some £6,000,000 has been spent. Its inhabitants have somewhat naturally set themselves to find reasons why no use should be made of General Smuts' discovery. They point out that the conversion of Nhlanga Lake into a harbour would involve the construction of a new railway that would traverse undeveloped and barren country, and that the proximity to the proposed harbour of large swamp areas that would be costly and perhaps impossible to drain would lay on it the curse of ineradicable malaria. Both those who desire, and those who do not desire, the creation of a port at Nhlanga eagerly await the report of experts as to whether rock underlies the sand dunes of Mbange Nek, and whether the local action of the tides would cause trouble by silting up the entrance to the harbour if it were made. Lourenço Marques is as much interested in the question as Durban, and the danger of a rival port being created may perhaps have some bearing on discussions when the Mozambique Convention is renewed.

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It is difficult to understand on what grounds responsible

**The Execution
of Stassen.**

leaders of the Nationalist and Labour parties in the Union demanded the reprieve of Christian Stassen for the murder of two natives during the period of the Rand revolution. If the natives had been killed in the course of the fighting, if they had been in arms against the rebels, there might have been some shadowy justification for the plea that clemency should be substituted for justice. But the conduct of all the native mine-workers during the rebellion was admirable. Under great provocation of gibes, threats, assaults and even murder they kept calm, obeyed the orders of their indunas, compound-managers and the officials of the Native Affairs Department, and dispersed quietly to

their kraals. If Stassen had any motive beyond mere berserk blood-lust in shooting two natives in cold blood, it must have been the desire to goad the natives into making reprisals and thus afford a plausible excuse for massacring men whose growing skill as mine-workers is a menace to the wages of the less efficient white miners. Such a policy would be wholly unjustifiable, but would at least be intelligible. But it is difficult to see on what grounds good enough to submit to any intelligent audience the Nationalist and Labour leaders can condone it. It may be that Stassen took the opportunity created by the fighting to give expression to the race hatred felt by the "damned nigger" school of sociologists. It may be he hoped that owing to the turmoil his murder would go unpunished, and he probably hoped that he would not in any case suffer the extreme penalty of his crime, even if he were brought to justice, because the execution of a white man for the murder of a native has been a very rare event in South African history. In the history of every country Governments have from time to time weakly allowed themselves to be diverted from administering the law by popular clamour; but they have usually sooner or later been punished for their weakness. If the Union Government had given way, incalculable damage would have been done in the minds of the natives by confirming the belief that there is one law for the white and another for the black. By standing firm and administering impartial justice the Government has, in the opinion of the representative native newspaper, *Imvo*, done much to "rehabilitate the old-time confidence in the even-handedness of British law in the eyes of all intelligent black people." The over-lordship of the white in Africa is based on justice, and it will be a costly day for us if ever that basis is destroyed, for it can only be replaced by one of force.

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A MINUTE addressed by Sir Hugh Clifford to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria on the conclusion of his recent tour gives an account of the country and people. In the course of the minute Sir Hugh makes some valuable suggestions as to the attitude which a political officer or any responsible

Sir Hugh Clifford
on Courtesy.

white man should adopt in his relations with Muhammadan dignitaries.

"He should scrupulously avoid violent gestures, loudness of speech or even the unnecessary raising of the voice when addressing them. . . . It is very rarely safe to venture upon anything resembling a humorous sally when talking to the Muhammadans of the superior classes, unless the individual addressed is exceedingly well known to the speaker. . . . The Muhammadan of the upper classes . . . usually reserves his quips and jests for his intimates, and he is apt to regard any departure from this rule by a European as undignified, or if, as not infrequently happens, the point of pleasantry be missed, as something embarrassingly incomprehensible, or possibly offensive."

Was it the snark or the jubjub bird that always looked grave at a pun? Whichever it was, Lewis Carroll in recording the fact did not suggest that jokes are vulgar, but issued a warning that they are suitable only to certain audiences. Sir Hugh Clifford's advice is such as may well be offered by an experienced senior to an inexperienced junior. Yet it has provoked trenchant criticism in some quarters, and even speculation as to whether it is directed against any particular individual. In other quarters it is more favourably received. A correspondent of our contemporary, *The African World*, even suggests that it would be worth while to circulate it throughout the Empire.

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COMMENTING on the assumption by Southern Rhodesia of responsible government, Mr. W. Ingram-Future African Railways. Lyon, writing in *The African World*, predicts that the future of the two Rhodesias will be found in the extension of the present railway system to the east and to the west. The planned terminus of the Benguela railway could be diverted from Katanga to Rhodesia, and could easily be made to join the Rhodesia railways at Broken Hill, which would give access to the Atlantic, while to the east an extension will sooner or later be made from Broken Hill to Lake Nyasa, by way of Fort Jameson, and then from the other side of the lake to Porto Amelia. The annual report for 1921 of the Companhia Do Nyasa gives particulars of the projected Porto Amelia-Nyasa railway. It will be built in three stages—Pemba-Medo, Medo-Lugenda, and lastly Lugenda to Lake

Nyasa. From Kilometre 19 to Kilometre 40 it will traverse a fertile district which could be intensively cultivated and made to yield fruit, vegetables and grain for the port. Between Kilometre 40 and 56, along the valley of the M'Biri, minerals may be found, and from Kilometre 56 onwards to Medo the land is all agricultural, and is therefore more densely populated than the districts nearer the coasts. The steepest gradient will be 1 in 60. Between Porto Amelia and Medo seven stations are projected, but only the terminal stations will be constructed of masonry. The others will be made of corrugated iron until experience has proved whether they should be retained or removed to another site.

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A CIRCULAR has been issued by the Central Secretary's Office, Nigeria, with regard to wives accompanying political officers on their tours of duty. A junior officer on his

**Wives of Nigerian
Officials. ●**

first tour, being necessarily ignorant of local conditions, will, as a rule, not be allowed to bring his wife. In other cases this prohibition will be enforced only when the officer's duties are likely to be adversely affected. For example, an officer sent to open up new country could not in the interests of the service be allowed to have his wife with him, but one in permanent quarters might be accompanied by his wife without detriment to the service. The Government retains the right of being the sole judge whether duties are neglected owing to the presence of a wife, and where necessary permission granted to an officer to have his wife with him may be withdrawn. Married officers accompanied by their wives will have no claim to be posted to the most healthy stations, or to those in which medical assistance is readily available. Only the interests of the service will be considered in allotting officers, married or single, to their posts.

BOOKS REVIEWED

The Agricultural and Forest Products of British West Africa.
By G. C. Dudgeon, C.B.E. (London: John Murray,
1922, pp. viii, 176; maps and photographs. 7s. 6d. net.)

WE give a hearty welcome to the second edition of this invaluable handbook, which was first published ten years ago. Its author was at one time Inspector of Agriculture in the West African Colonies and Protectorates and writes with an unrivalled knowledge of his subject. He writes a comprehensive account of the vegetable products of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast (including the northern territories) and Nigeria. In each section he gives notes on the area and population of the country concerned, names the native tribes and describes their implements and agricultural methods, and then goes on to enumerate the crops and trees. There is a vast amount of useful information about rubber, cotton, cocoa, oil palms, ground-nuts, etc., that should be appreciated by colonists in other parts of Africa. The figures quoted of exports show clearly what a serious set-back was experienced by British West Africa through the war. In 1914, for example, the export of cocoa from the southern provinces of Nigeria fell to about 5,000 tons; in 1913 it had reached over eight million tons. The hope is expressed that many useful lessons will have been learnt from the war, and that the course of progress in the future will thereby be made more sure and perhaps more rapid. The cultivation of cotton has now been shown to be successful and profitable in Nigeria; the future of cotton production there is now assured. One effect of the war has been to increase the consumption of margarine and similar materials and this has led to an increased demand for the products of the oil palm. That palm has been introduced into other countries, such as the Dutch East Indies, which may before long be formidable rivals to the West Coast. This fact demands the most serious attention of all concerned. It is satisfactory to learn that the staffs of the Agricultural Departments in West Africa are to be extended and better remunerated. The Gold Coast has become the chief cocoa producer of the world. Since the first seed was brought by a native trader from Fernando Po in 1879, the cultivation has grown till in 1919 176,155 tons

of cocoa, valued at more than eight million pounds, were exported. Here again the cultivation and preparation leaves much to be desired. The call is for more extensive education of the native in these matters, for it is upon the native that the trade depends. There are huge possibilities in connection with the production of fibres, cinchona bark and many other materials. Upon all these matters Mr. Dudgeon has much to say that is of the utmost consequence. The information in this second edition has been brought up to date. Incidentally the book shows what a valuable work for West Africa and the Empire generally is being done at the Imperial Institute.

E. W. S.

The Wonderland of the Eastern Congo. By T. Alexander Barns. With an Introduction by Sir H. H. Johnston. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922; pp. xxxv, 288, photographs and map.)

THIS is a sumptuous book, produced and illustrated in magnificent style. The author has spent twenty-three years in Africa. This, his first literary venture, describes a journey taken with his plucky wife in 1919 for the purpose of collecting for the Hill Museum. From Katanga they crossed Lake Tanganyika and travelled northwards through Burundi to Lake Kivu, through the great volcanoes of Virunga to Lake Edward, along the almost unknown west coast of that lake, up the Semliki to Ruwenzori, which Mr. Barns climbed, from the western side, to the height of nearly 13,000 feet; thence they crossed the forest belt to Stanleyville and so down the Congo. Not much of this is absolutely new country, and the book is of zoological rather than geographical value. Mr. Barns secured a fine specimen of the largest known species of gorilla. He also got the skin of an okapi killed by pygmies. A list, prepared by Mr. G. Talbot, of the forms of Lepidoptera new to science collected by Mr. and Mrs. Barns, is given as an appendix. There are excellent and exciting hunting yarns, including that of his escape from the jaws of a crocodile. He gives, too, reminiscences of previous hunting trips, and in particular an account of killing a monster elephant whose skin he sent home entire in one piece; this elephant can now be seen in the Natural History Museum and is, as the author says with pardonable pride, "the largest stuffed mammal in English museums." By the way, he refers in a footnote to the elephant's temporal gland, described by Dr. Christy in our July number. He says that the sticks found in the glands are "almost always without exception" there. "It is hard

to believe," he says, "that they come there by accident. . . . The natives will tell you that the elephant puts them there himself; perhaps they are right!" The human species has much less interest for Mr. Barns than the quadrupeds and insectivora, but anthropologists will be interested in his notes on the Wambute pygmies, whom he visited in their "homes," and in the account, written by M. d'Aôut, of the Mambela ceremonies and other customs of the Wabali. We smiled to find cropping up in Congoland the old Rhodesian chestnut of the man who set his glass eye to watch his belongings during his absence; the ending was different, however; instead of finding the eye covered up, he found on his return that nobody had ventured near the house to sweep it and consequently the white ants were feasting on his best boots undisturbed. Mr. Barns is an expert photographer and the specimens he gives of his work are simply splendid. Our readers will thoroughly enjoy this book.

E. W. S.

The New Zambesi Trail. By C. W. Mackintosh. (London: Marshall Brothers, Ltd., 1922; pp. 370. Illustrated. No index. 10s. 6d. net.)

A DECIDEDLY interesting book by the niece and biographer of the Rev. F. Coillard, the well-known Barotseland pioneer. Miss Mackintosh is a clear-seeing lady, with a charming sense of humour and an uncommon amount of common sense, and, while some readers may find rather too much moralising in her book, she gives a delightful account of two journeys she made to Northern Rhodesia in 1903 and 1920. The book abounds in quotable observations and *obiter dicta*. She met the daughter of the Makololo chief, Sebituane, and, perhaps having in mind what the present writer recorded in *The Ila-speaking Peoples*, asked her the real cause of her father's death. The old lady returned cryptic replies, seeming, in Miss Mackintosh's opinion, to imply that the people had poisoned him, intending to poison Livingstone and Oswell afterwards. This seems to us to be very improbable. There are some things in the book which will interest anthropologists, though the absence of an index makes reference difficult; there are, for example, the accounts of Lewanika's funeral rites and of his successor's ascension ceremonies. Those interested in native education will welcome the description of the Government's Industrial school in Barotseland. An illuminating, and, needless to say, wholly sympathetic, account is given of the work of the French missionaries, to whom the

country owes so much. One is glad to read this tribute to the B.S.A. Co.'s Administration: "And when one sees the peace and good order enforced throughout the country, the immunity from tribal warfare and the slave-trade, and the genuine efforts to put down crime and witchcraft, one cannot but be thankful for the Administration of the British South Africa Company, to which Northern Rhodesia owes more than many are disposed to admit, though the missionaries fully recognise it."

E. W. S.

Shuwa Arabic Stories. By C. G. Howard. (Oxford University Press, 1921; pp. 115.)

THIS little book, compiled by Mr. Howard, formerly of the Nigerian Education department, will be found useful by all students of the Shuwa Arabic spoken in the Province of Bornu. It consists of twenty-nine stories and narratives printed in Roman characters, with an interleaved vocabulary. The system of transliteration adopted is explained in the Introduction. The book is published at Government expense.

E. W. S.

Sayings and Acts of Jesus Christ. At the Nile Mission Press, 1921.

THIS is a Reader prepared by Sir William Willcocks and Mansour Effendi Bakhit in the language of the Egyptian fellahin. It is printed, without vowels, in Arabic character. Besides being of use to those who are learning colloquial Arabic, it is claimed by Prof. A. H. Sayce, who writes the Introduction, that this is a new enterprise which should be of profound interest to every theologian; in fact "we may expect that if the substance of the Gospels can be put into the language of the modern Egyptian peasant we shall get nearer to the mind of Christ than is possible so long as it remains in its present literary form."

E. W. S.

Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse. By D. W. Stirke. With an introductory chapter by Sir Harry Johnston. (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1922; pp. xii + 136; 45 illustrations and a map. 21s. net.)

AN interesting and in some respects valuable, though somewhat slight account of the Barotse, written by Mr. Stirke, who,

THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

DR. *INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT for the Year ended 31st December, 1921.* CR.

EXPENDITURE.		INCOME.	
To COST OF JOURNAL, Printing, Publishing, etc.	£335 9 6	By SUBSCRIPTIONS:—	
" EXPENSES OF MEETINGS	23 7 9	Subscriptions and Donations for the year 1921	£948 14 0
" MANAGEMENT EXPENSES:—		Arrears paid up	34 13 0
Salaries	£320 1 9	" SALES OF JOURNAL	£983 7 0
Rent	100 0 0	" ADVERTISEMENTS IN JOURNAL	65 6 7
Lighting, Heating, and Cleaning	25 19 8	" INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS, LESS TAX	107 5 0
Printing and Stationery	27 7 1	" INCOME TAX RECOVERED in respect of the 3 years ended 31st January, 1921	32 13 4
Postages, Telegrams and Telephone	47 18 9		35 1 2
Bank Charges and Interest	10 0 2		
Sundry Small Expenses	15 15 3		
" AMOUNT WRITTEN OFF FURNITURE	547 2 8		
" BALANCE, being Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year carried to Balance Sheet	5 14 4		
	1,111 14 3		
	111 18 10		
	£1,223 13 1		£1,223 13 1

BALANCE SHEET, 31st December, 1921.

LIABILITIES AND CAPITAL.		ASSETS.	
To SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED IN ADVANCE	£17 11 0	By CASH IN HAND	£0 0 5
" SUNDKY CREDITORS	204 12 8	" INVESTMENTS (AT COST)	
" BALANCE DUE BANK on Current Account	...	£1,129 8s. 10d. India 31% Stock	£1,100 0 0
		(Market Price at 31st December, 1921—	
		280/.. 1622 3 8)	
		£222 3 8	
		38 18 0	

28.

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1880

until recently, was a native Commissioner in Northern Rhodesia. Sir Harry Johnston's Introduction is a suggestive treatment, not impeccably accurate in detail, of various linguistic, ethnological, zoological and botanical problems relating to the country. With all deference to his unrivalled authority, we venture to question some of his statements as to the distribution of animals in Northern Rhodesia. Special attention may be drawn to Chapter III, on "Native Administration," with its details of the organisation and working of the Kotla, the so-called "Parliament," at Lealui. ("Kotla," by the way, should be "khotla," from the original Sesuto *le-khotla*.) There is, unfortunately, some amount of confusion in the spelling of native names; sometimes we have "Barotse" (*i.e.*, the Sesuto form of the name), and sometimes "Barozi" (*i.e.*, the Sekololo pronunciation); "Sesuto," and "Sisuto." There is no index. The price seems rather heavy for a book of this size.

E. W. S.

The Partition and Colonisation of Africa. By Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922; pp. 228; index; map. 12s. 6d. net.)

SIR CHARLES LUCAS, author and editor of a long series of volumes of great value, has now published the lectures that he delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute, early in 1921, to a study circle of teachers of the London County Council. Giving as it does in a handy and readable form all the main facts in the history of Africa, it is an excellent introduction to the study of the problems of that continent. We call attention particularly to the two chapters entitled, "Late Campaigns in Africa," and "The Result of the War on the Map of Africa." In the latter the author speaks incidentally of the sophisticating effect of the war on the natives. It is a book that should be in the possession of every member of the African Society. It is a pity that such a book should have to cost 12s. 6d.

E. W. S.

La Donna in Etiopia. Studio del Comm. Alberto Pollera. (Rome: S.A.I. Industrie Grafiche; 1922; pp. 85; paper cover; photographs. Price not stated.)

THIS is one of a series of monographs published by the Italian Colonial Office, which has kindly sent us a copy for the Library. The author will be known to some of our readers by his previous book, *I Bari e i Cunama*. Here he deals with the women of

Abyssinia, in regard to marriage, the family, hereditary rights, etc., etc. The subjects are treated with considerable frankness. He quotes James Bruce, whom he accuses of hasty generalisation in some respects, but it does not appear that the moral conditions have made much advance since Bruce's days. In the concluding section he discusses miscegenation, with an eye upon the Italian colony of Eritrea, and the question whether "the fusion of colonists with natives is the end of all intelligent colonisation." Readers interested in African customs will find much instruction in this volume. E. W. S.

The *Bulletin Périodique* of the "Société Belge d'Etudes et d'Expansion," for October, 1922, contains two articles that will interest members of our Society. The first is on the natural wealth of French West Africa and the economic relations between France and Belgium and their colonies; M. Camille Guy, the writer, advocates an *entente économique* between the two allies. The other article, by M. Rutten, Vice-Governor-General of the Katanga, discusses the question of a uniform language for the whole of the Belgian Congo. Starting from the fact, brought out by Sir Harry Johnston in his *Comparative Study*, that 113 Bantu dialects are spoken in the territory, he enlarges upon the administrative and educational difficulties emerging therefrom, discusses and dismisses the adoption of either Swahili, Luba or Ngala, and advocates that either French or Flemish (the two languages of Belgium) should be taught to all the natives. The Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa, he points out, has decreed the obligatory teaching of French and the disuse of any other language in the schools; and he says that it is probable that the Belgians would already have adopted a similar measure if they could have come to a decision as to which language should be insisted upon.

E. W. S.

Environmental Influences affecting Blondes in Rhodesia and their bearing on the Future. By Dr. W. M. Hewetson. (London: Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co., 1922; pp. 27. Paper cover. 2s. 6d.)

"If we establish ourselves here as a permanent self-governing community in the tropics, we shall be the first blondes in the history of the world to accomplish that feat." So says Dr. Hewetson in this lecture to his fellow-Rhodesians. He discusses the conditions rendering such permanent colonisation in the tropics practicable. Certainly all Rhodesians should absorb and carry into practice the advice that he gives,

and the members of other tropical communities as well. We wish there were some means of getting this pamphlet into the hands of every European resident in tropical Africa.

E. W. S.

Varia Africana, Vol. III. Harvard African Series. (Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. 1922.)

THE third volume of *Varia Africana* comprises a collection of "Folk-Lore of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia," by Dr. Enrico Cerulli, and a study of the Wages of Nyasaland, by Dr. H. S. Stannus.

These two studies cover about 370 of the 374 pages in the volume, being prefaced by a short note by the late Professor Giuffrida-Ruggeri, on the early inhabitants of Egypt, and closed by another short note by Dr. Peabody on the prehistoric collections from North-West Africa in the Peabody Museum.

Dr. Giuffrida-Ruggeri's paper though short is interesting, as embodying his final opinions on the much-discussed problem of the ethnic basis of the ancient Egyptians. He concludes: "To the question whether the most ancient Egyptians were Mediterraneans or Ethiopians, we must reply that most of Lower Egypt were Mediterraneans akin to Libyans, those of Upper Egypt were Ethiopians."

The "Folk Literature of the Galla" embraces both songs and some prose, dealing mainly with relatively recent events. It is topical and personal, and apart from its linguistic value and in places interesting allusions to customs, it is not particularly inviting to the general reader.

On p. 31 there is an interesting paragraph on the derivation of the name Galla from the root *gal*, "to wander," or "nomadist," and on p. 127, under Festive and Religious Songs, a notice of the Galla pagan goddess of fecundity, Atétê, who in the songs is called Ayô, "the mother," and under Christian influences becomes "Māryām." The form Ayô has other than a local interest, because the general name for the manatee, "the mother" of many tribes in the west, is in the Benue and Niger regions Ayô.

Again, pp. 141 *seq.*, dealing with *gādā* (age grades) and the *bultā* festival, celebrated every eight years, are extremely important, thorough and useful for comparison with cognate tribal organisations elsewhere.

In an appendix is a study of the Wättâ, a low caste of hunters, followed by an index of the proper names occurring in the text.

Dr. Stannus' study of the Wayao of Nyasaland is scholarly, exhaustive, and lucid. "I believe," he writes, "that if missionaries, instead of turning away their faces in horror, had regarded these practices with an open mind, they would have found that their veiled statements were exaggerations of the truth, and that the old social code of the Yao native would compare favourably with the order of things in most civilised countries."

There follows a very detailed and first-hand account of Wayao life, with specimens of their folk-lore, and a number of excellent photographs and sketches, cat's cradles, etc.

Dr. Peabody's note urges the importance of making further collections of stone implements in the Atlas and Sahara.

H. R. P.

Ashanti: Report for 1921. Annual Colonial Reports, No. 1142. By C. H. Harper, Chief Commissioner. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1922. Printed in the Gold Coast. Price 1s. 3d. net.)

WHAT wonderful things are continually coming out of Africa! And often they come to us, as here, encased in the prosaic form of a Colonial Report, with its conventional numbered paragraphs, tables of statistics, and details of sanitation. Let us hasten to add that even those things have their interest and value to us all. To the lover of Africa every little detail of her manifold activity has a fascination of its own. But here is a real romantic story of *Sika Gwa Kofi*, "Friday's Golden Stool." We all knew of this famous Stool which long figured in the history of Ashanti, but the present reviewer, at least, imagined that it disappeared finally after King Prempeh's deposition in 1895. Here is the full story—in outline, anyhow.

The Golden Stool came into the life of the Ashantis during the time of Osai Tutu, the fourth known King of Ashanti. He was the founder of the Ashanti Empire, and his successes were attributed to the power of the Golden Stool. In the early years of his reign a refugee from Denkera, named Anotchi, announced that he had a mission from Onyame, the sky god, to make the Ashantis a great and powerful nation, and in a great assembly of the people at Coomassie he drew down from the sky a black cloud and a wooden stool having three supports and partly covered with gold. Loud rumblings and thick white dust accompanied the phenomenon. Anotchi proclaimed to Osai Tutu and to all the people that the Stool contained the Sunsum (soul or spirit) of the Ashanti nation, their power, their health, their bravery, their honour and

their welfare. He warned them that if the Stool was captured or destroyed the nation would sicken and die. Another account speaks of the Nucleus of the Stool—a nutshell holding the souls of all Ashanti and protecting the nation against all evils—and not the Stool itself having been received from heaven. In any case we seem to have here a developed form of a belief that, however nonsensical it may seem to ourselves, has been and is still held by peoples in many parts of the world. What the Churinga is to the Arunta of Central Australia, the Golden Stool was to the Ashantis—an object closely associated with the spirits of all the living, the most sacred possession of the tribe, the loss of which would be the most serious evil that could possibly fall upon the people. To this sacred emblem were afterwards attached several precious trophies. There were the Golden Fetters, a memorial of the overthrow of the Denkera power by the Ashantis, and the Gold Masks made out of the metal which composed a rival Stool, and in the form of the impious King of Gyaman who had been rash enough to make it, and who was promptly attacked and beheaded by the King of Ashanti. These things were hung upon the Stool, together with two brass bells and two of gold. The Stool is supposed never to have touched the earth. On the rare occasions when it was brought out it was never allowed to come into direct contact with the ground. The skin off the back of an elephant would be set upon the ground, and over this would be spread a woven cloth, and then upon this the Stool would be placed. Nobody, not even the king, ever sat upon the Stool. On great occasions the king would pretend to sit upon it three times and would then seat himself upon his own stool with his arm resting upon the Golden Stool. In its annual progress to Bantama the Stool was carried under its own umbrella and was surrounded by attendants, who in number and adornment exceeded those of the king who followed it. In 1895 the Ashantis lost their king but retained the Stool. The absence of resistance to Colonel Scott's expedition was due, not so much to the promptitude with which the operations were carried out, but to the fact that the Ashantis feared to take the Golden Stool to a war in which they felt they were bound to be defeated.

When Prempeh was arrested at Coomassie the Stool disappeared into the forest in charge of the Gyase, as its body-guard was named. The Head of this Guard was responsible for the safe-keeping of the Stool, and Opoku Mensah, who then held the office, ordered it to be taken to the village of Wawase, there to be handed over to certain persons. A special

hut was built for its reception. About twenty years later a dispute arose over the ownership of the Wawase land. The Chief Commissioner went to examine the question on the spot, but as his intentions were suspected Esubonten, who had succeeded Opoku Mensah, sent a messenger to Wawase instructing the headman to send the Stool off to Abuabugya. In 1920 a road was being made between this place and a neighbouring village. At a certain point the Road Overseer diverged from the route that had been agreed upon because he thought it would be easier going, but this divergence evidently caused great uneasiness to Kujo Danso, the headman of Abuabugya. The reason of his perturbation was revealed when the roadmakers unearthed a box containing the Golden Stool and its insignia. Danso carried it off, but soon after rumours reached the ears of the Coomassie chiefs and an inquiry showed that the Golden Stool had been desecrated, the Gold Fetters had been pawned for thirty shillings, one of the Gold Bells had been melted down, and most of the other ornaments had disappeared. This news soon spread and aroused the utmost consternation. Naturally, for were not the welfare and life of the whole nation at stake? The Government acted wisely. The chiefs held an inquiry and recommended that certain of the culprits, including Esubonten and Danso, should be put to death, that others should be banished, and others should "swear fetish." This last proceeding is described in detail in the Report. The Fetish had its own retinue of attendants, its own umbrella, and was generally treated as one would expect to see treated a chief of high standing. It consisted, when uncovered, of two brass bells—which, in Mr. Rattray's opinion, were those of the Golden Stool. The oath administered was the following: "I swear by the great Oath Kromanti that if I am in possession of any of the ornaments of the Golden Stool or have given possession to them to any person to hold in trust for me, may the Fetish kill me." Nobody was put to death, fines and banishment were inflicted, and the incident, which might have led to serious disturbance, was happily closed. Barely a two-hundredth part of the gold was recovered that had ornamented the Stool, but the nucleus remains. The point of view of the thieves seems to be a reasonable one; it was the Stool that was sacred, "the gold about it is nothing."

It is all not only a deeply interesting story but a highly significant one. The Golden Stool might be made the centre of a study as momentous as the Golden Bough. It stands for Paganism. Out of a population of 407,000, there are a

large number of Christians in Ashanti; 15,000 more than in 1920. "In fact in certain parts of Ashanti something in the nature of a 'mass movement' towards Christianity has set in." But the old Paganism still retains a strong hold: the Golden Stool can still arouse passion. Yet the gold of it can be stolen—a thing that in the old days under Prempeh nobody would have dreamed of doing. The decay of superstition is not altogether a gain; it is no gain at all unless the morality it supported is given a better foundation. The Report makes this wise comment upon the mass movement: "It may be, and missionaries are alive to this fact, that such a movement has attendant dangers. Possibly set native habits of morality and the valuable, and it may be the inspired, elements in native religion will be cast aside in an access of momentary enthusiasm without anything lasting or substantial to take their place. There will probably be found much in native custom and habits of thought which can be carried over into a Christian community, and while, therefore, this great impulse towards Christianity is stirring among the Ashanti, there is the need of the constant guidance and supervision of European missionaries versed in and sympathetic towards native customs and beliefs." It is not the missionaries only that are causing the change; you cannot introduce sanitation, motors, modern methods of agriculture, education in Government schools, etc., etc., without affecting ancient native beliefs. In fact we are here up against one of the greatest of problems in this transition stage in Africa. The Government has taken the wise and important step of appointing an official anthropologist in the person of Captain Rattray. He is not only investigating customs, but is carrying on an active propaganda among the people to teach them to aim at progress which is based on what is best in their own institutions, religion, manners and customs. All that he says about this is worthy of attention. How fascinating all this movement in Africa is! One would like to live a hundred years more in order to be able to follow it and see what comes of it all.

E. W. S.

CORRESPONDENCE

2nd December, 1922.

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,

The Rev. W. A. Crabtree, in a letter published in your October issue, complains of the "unfavourable attitude taken by representatives of the International Phonetic Association to my little book on African Phonetics." May I point out that if Mr. Crabtree persists in using a phonetic terminology of his own, unintelligible to all but himself, he can scarcely expect his work to be appreciated by phoneticians, or anyone else? In the present instance, it is difficult to see what he means by "sonant *n*"—*n* being by its nature sonant (or "voiced"). Neither would anyone else think of describing the "velar nasal" as a "nasal glide," and one doubts if the author could find many to agree with him in saying that it is unnecessary to mark it before *g*. It is probably true that "no [Bantu] native could say *gan-ga*"; but the sound *n* instead of *ñ* (*ng'* or *ñ*) is certainly heard in other languages. Do we say "on-going" or "ong-going"?

I have not seen Dr. Laman's valuable work in its published form; but I should be very much surprised to find that he treated "musical pitch" and vowel-length as *identical*. (I may be wrong in supposing Mr. Crabtree to mean this when he speaks of "slightly lengthening the preceding vowel—in scientific phraseology varying the 'musical pitch'"—but I fail to understand his words in any other sense.) That the velar nasal is "a glide introduced for the purpose of slightly lengthening the preceding vowel" is scarcely credible, when one remembers how many words (in other languages, if not in Ganda) begin with this sound.

It is sometimes followed by *k* or *g* as (Pokomo *ngombe*, Swahili *ngoma*), sometimes not, these same words being found elsewhere as *ng'ombe* (to follow the usual spelling) and *ng'oma*. In Yao we have *ngong'o*, "tortoise"; *ngama*, "oxide of iron"; *ngala*, "a crab"; *ku ng'akala*, "to be fierce"; *ku ng'anda*, "play"; in Nyanja, *ng'anyo*, *ng'ona*; in Zigula, *ng'anya*, *ng'onga*, *ng'enda*, etc., etc. If the initial vowel of these nouns had been lengthened by the nasal, it surely would not have been lost, and the verb-stems never had a vowel to be lengthened.

Yours, etc.,

A. WERNER.

*School of Oriental Studies,
Finsbury Circus,
London, E.C. 2.*

JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

VOL. XXII. NO. LXXXVII

APRIL, 1923

NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Political and Industrial Conditions, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education, and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. On none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions at which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

AN APPEAL BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

As the Council have done me the honour lately of re-electing me for the third time as President of the African Society, I hope I may be allowed to make a very special Appeal to the Members of the Society, and especially to those who are living in the United Kingdom.

The Report of the Society of 1921-22, which was published in the January 1923 number of the JOURNAL, shows that the African Society has made very satisfactory progress in the last two years both in Numbers and in Finance, and is able to offer an attractive Programme to its Members.

I am glad to say that the Society is once again in a strong financial position, and that, in spite of the increase which it was found necessary to make in the annual subscription, the numbers have considerably increased during the past two years.

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But, apart from any question of Finance, it is very important that the African Society should be able to extend its operations and its influence. This can best be done by increased Membership, which will not only enable the Society to extend its operations, but—an even greater advantage—interest a larger number of persons in its aims and objects.

There is one point which I have a good deal in mind, namely, that as a large proportion of our Members are, in the nature of things, resident in Africa and not in the United Kingdom, the numbers of Members available at our Luncheons, Dinners, and Lectures are necessarily somewhat curtailed. In spite of this, however, these functions are on the whole well attended by Members and their friends—and I would remind Members that the friends of Members are always very welcome. At the same time I should like to see a still larger attendance on these occasions, so that those who are good enough to give us their services may feel that their kindness is fully appreciated.

I would ask the present Members of the Society, therefore, to bear the matter in mind; to bring the existence of the Society to the attention of their friends, and to do their best to increase its Membership, and especially among those who are resident in the United Kingdom.

BUXTON.

April, 1923.

NGORONGORO, THE GIANT CRATER; AND THE GORILLA, THE GIANT APE¹

ONE hundred and twenty-five miles west of Kilimanjaro in Northern Tanganyika Territory (late German East Africa) lies a remote region known as the Land of the Giant or Great Craters. It is a plateau composed of and formed by volcanic magma, mud and *débris* ejected by a group of some of the largest and most interesting volcanoes in the world. Roughly it is about ninety miles long by some thirty broad, and is not easy of access to the ordinary traveller, for it lies away from the main caravan routes, being surrounded by waterless tracts to the north and west, and enclosed to the south, east and north-east by extensive lakes and active craters.

When referring to this part of East Africa, Sir Harry Johnston writes: "This region, so curiously withdrawn from the other great watersheds of East Africa, sending its rivers neither towards the Indian Ocean nor to Tanganyika, nor to the Nile basin, but using them up in large and small salt lakes, in measureless swamps and vast depressions that were once shallow lakes in times of greater rainfall; of rift valleys and faults; of large, small, and even gigantic craters, the rims of which reach almost to snow-level; of conifer forests; of grassy prairies teeming still with game; of beautifully moulded hills and wooded valleys; of tumultuous rivers that flow for hundreds of miles and then sink into the ground and finish; of hot mineral springs; of phosphate and soda deposits—*is deserving of the most minute research*. Its dried-up lake-beds are believed to contain deposits of Pleistocene, Pliocene, and Miocene age which may yield evidence of an earlier mammalian fauna, or may elucidate the origin of the existing mammalian types of Africa, together with the evolution of the African forms of man."

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society, held at the Royal Society of Arts on January 30th, 1923. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 237.

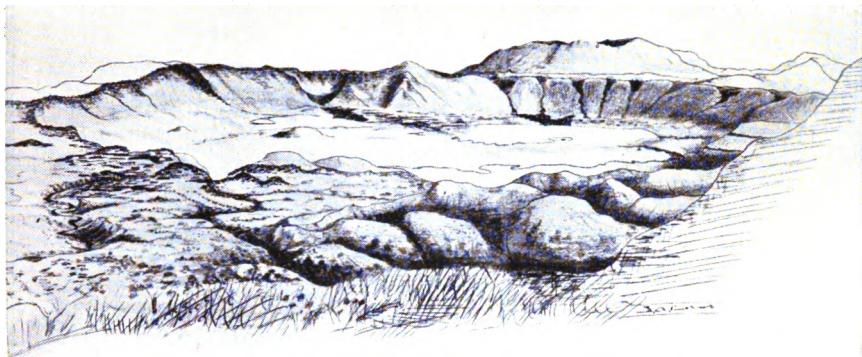
It is hard to understand the reason why such a remarkable region has escaped the attention of English travellers and explorers, but such is the case. Until my article appeared in the *Geographical Journal* of December last, very little if anything had been written about the district either in connection with its natural features or natural history. Not one Englishman in a hundred, even in Africa, could tell one anything about the Great Craters or even knew that such a place existed. Apart from the German publications describing the region, the only written accounts of it so far as I know are contained in the *Geographical Journal* of so long ago as 1870 and 1882, when maps were constructed and published by the Society—from native information only.

It appears that some rough inkling of the remarkable features of the country had been gained by missionaries, which induced the German explorer Baumann to visit it in 1906, and since then other German travellers and Government officials have mapped the country fairly accurately. Doubtless the fact that valuable fossil and prehistoric remains as well as diamonds and gold were located on the plateau of the Great Craters by the Germans made a reason for keeping foreign travellers out of the country, and it is not unlikely that on this account the region has escaped the attention it is now arousing.

Last year I spent some weeks in this very wonderful place, exploring and collecting insects, which enables me to record in the following pages a few of its many unique features.

The plateau or highlands of the Great Craters is a veritable fairyland alive with interest. The scientist and man of affairs will find much there to intrigue him, but the artist will find it difficult to tear himself away from the place once he gets there, and will need a restraining hand at his shoulder for fear he should be overwhelmed with beauty or threaten to build a studio on the precipice of Ngorongoro.

The culminating glory of the land is of course Ngorongoro—the Father Crater of the World—which forms the core around which this volcanic plateau rests. The second glory is the active volcano of Oldonyo-lengai—the “Mountain of God” of the Māasai—which thrusts its tapering and slender, yet massive form 9350 feet to the skies in one glorious grey, white



A SKETCH OF NGORONGORO, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST FROM THE OLOLMOTI VOLCANO.



THE "MOUNTAIN OF GOD."

[To face page 180.]

and pink pyramid, arabesqued in folds and furrows of quaint shape.

Ngorongoro! No one knows the meaning of the word or whence it came, and I have asked many of the wandering Māasai about it. It stands for a counterpart of the moon's surface—a blister on the earth's crust—twelve miles in diameter one way by eleven another, surrounded by a thirty-five mile circle of cliffs 2000 feet deep. A wonder of the world, holding within its "ring fence" uncountable herds of big game—Hippo, Rhino, Blue Wildebeeste, Eland, Zebra, Kongoni, Thompson's and Grant's Gazelle, Chandler's Reedbuck, Oribi, Lions, Leopards, Cheetah, Hyæna, Ostrich—75,000 of them, some say, and they never leave the crater. Then in the primeval forests that clothe the outer slopes are Elephant and Buffalo.

A fair-sized lake four miles in length fills a shallow depression in the southern portion of the "floor," around which feed every kind of wild-fowl. The lake, which has no outlet other than perhaps a subterranean one—known to the Māasai by the name of Magad—is fed by a river called the Lemunge, which has its rise in the heart of the extinct Ololmoti volcano overlooking Ngorongoro from the north. Then there is another volcano called Oldeani (or Bamboo Mountain in Māesai) to the south.

How such a vast quantity of game manages to subsist and keep their condition, year in and year out, on this one area is rather perplexing, until one realises after a walk across Ngorongoro that the pasture is practically composed of one close mat of succulent white and red clover, in places growing to such luxuriance on the rich volcanic mud and débris that acres and acres of it stand knee-deep in one solid mass of green, as if it had been heavily sown and fertilised by man. Such wild clover pasture I have never before seen, and it is probably unique in the whole breadth of Africa.

The volcanoes I have mentioned, Ololmoti and Oldeani (one to the north and one to the south), both overshadow the giant central crater of Ngorongoro between them. They stand poised, as it were, on the edge of its circular crater wall, but their summits reaching up many thousands of feet above it.

These two volcanoes, although immense in themselves, for

the crater of one of them measures over three and a half miles in width, are dwarfed into insignificance by the colossal proportions of the great abyss on the edge of which they stand.

Ololmoti, the northern crater, attracted me the most, for not only was it the second largest of the group, but it contained the source of the Lemunge river, which rises within it and gushes out through a curious cleft in its side, as if Vulcan himself had split the great wall with one titanic blow of his hammer. I had a great hankering to see into it and experience such a thrill as a bird's-eye view from its summit was likely to give. This I eventually accomplished, and the scenery from such a pre-eminent and commanding position and the sketch I made from it well repaid me for my trouble. The ascent from my camp took me a good four hours of climbing before I reached the highest point. Naturally, my followers and I arrived at the top very much out of breath and pretty well fagged, so it was a very mean advantage that two Rhino took of us on the very summit, by charging us in the rough scrub, shaking us up very badly after the arduous climb. The whole crater, inside and out, is closely overgrown with arborescent "Lad's Love" bushes, very hard to push one's way through but of a fascinating fragrance. No wonder the Rhino make their home here, for the crater sides are a mass of fragrant herbs and mints and alpine flowers, and there are some sheltered alpine meadows in the deep folds round this crater that are marvels of beauty, carpeted with a lush green thick-leaved flora, and surrounded by an arborescent kind of broom, and massive moss and fern-hung *Hagenia* trees of the utmost grace and beauty. The map gives the impression that the Ololmoti Crater is closely covered with primeval forest; this is wrong, for there are only the very smallest patches of *Hagenia* forest that could be described as such—fragrant scrub interspersed with patches of coarse grass covers the crater within and without.

My aneroid showed 10,000 feet as the highest point we reached on the lip of the crater. It is a perfect ring some three and a half miles across, and contains quite a respectable mountain in its centre, which is in reality a gigantic core of ash and lava. The catchment area of this crater basin

forms itself into small pools and runnels of water on each side of this core, which then drain out through the narrow cleft of which I have spoken as the Lemunge river. The scenic effect of the Ngorongoro abyss below and the extensive view beyond it to Lake Manyara is unsurpassable.

To the north-east lies yet another giant, the Elanairobi Crater. By reason of its aspect, facing the rising sun, and also no doubt on account of the ideal conditions of moisture prevailing, the eastern slope of this volcano has become a veritable alpine "herbaceous border" of flowers. Amongst those that I could place were a large-flowering, sweet-scented Larkspur, white with black stamens, Anemones, Canterbury Bells, red and white Geraniums, purple Thistles in great bunches, verbena-scented Thymes, Mints, Docks, Fennels, Burrage, Sorrel, Forget-me-nots, Mallows, Champions, Crow's-foot, Petunias, Poker-plants, ground Orchids, at least a dozen kinds of Clovers and Trefoils of a wonderful range of colours from white to salmon-pink, Violets, Nettles, Marguerites with scented leaves (all plants seemed to have scented leaves), wild Turnips, Star of Parnassus, purple and white Lupins, Scabious of many kinds, Camomiles, Daisies, and great beds of *Crinum* lilies.

Elanairobi is made both interesting and beautiful by reason of the lake it contains. This body of water is over two miles across, green-blue in colour and covered with a heavy film of metallic substance. It is said to be of great depth. The northern interior slope of the crater is covered to the water's edge with primeval forest. Judging by the inundations along the shore line, there has been a considerable rise recently in the level of this crater lake. The highest point of this crater reaches an elevation in my opinion of well over 10,500 feet.

From the north-eastern lip of the Elanairobi Crater I obtained my first view of Oldonyo-lengai, or the Mountain of God, as the Māasai call it. Little wonder that these savages look upon this extraordinarily beautiful volcano with the utmost awe and veneration, for even from this distance it presents a picture of enchantment, the mysterious fascination of which is hard to resist.

This volcano erupted during the war, one eruption taking

place in January and another in March 1917. These eruptions were reported, but owing to the war no further notice was given to this interesting phenomenon at the time.

The Māsai look upon the volcano as sacred and the source of all blessings and benefits for their race. The internal rumblings that preceded the eruptions of 1917 were put down to the bellows of cattle that were to come out to enrich them.

After the last eruption, and when it was safe to approach, the Māsai picketed the neighbourhood, allowing no one but a Māsai to go near the volcano on pain of death. They afterwards took goats and cattle there, and conducted thither many of their women with blood and milk, which was poured out at the foot of the mountain. These women, who were mothers, were supposed to milk their breasts there, as a form of sacrifice to the mountain god, and were also left there alone for a period, supposedly becoming pregnant during that time.

There is no previous record of this volcano having erupted; it was, in fact, covered with mountain scrub right to its peak, where there were two small extinct craters. Its height was placed by the Germans at 9,350 feet; it must now be considerably higher than this, and culminates in a single crater on its tapering and graceful summit. The sides are now so steep that it is impossible to climb this volcano.

I reached the "Mountain of God" by way of the barren watercourses that run below it, through the difficult and fatiguing country to the west of the Kerimassi volcano. Even after four years the grey mud put out by the former is still to be seen covering the ground in many places that are ten miles or more away from it.

A saddle of ash and mud, white and shining, out of which emerge two curiously formed parasitic craters, join Oldonyolengai to the green cliffs of the Rift Valley escarpment. The entire scene is a contrast in effects and colours that enthralls the beholder, giving him that sense of detachment and unreality in his surroundings that beautiful or bizarre pictures or landscapes are apt to do. A thin film of vapour rises over the sharply cut edge of the narrow vent, but no glow is perceptible from this volcano at night.

The grey mud-plastered valley that runs along its southern foot, merging into the steaming lava lake under the volcano of Gelei, might have been transplanted from some other world, so weird and desolate does it appear. The lower part of this valley abounds with steaming parasitic craters, ash-cones, and fumeroles of all sizes and shapes, some of them raised up in tiny truncated cones, whilst others have formed themselves into great cracks and round caverns, flush with the surrounding surface of volcanic mud.

That famous warrior race, the Māsai, inhabit the Land of the Great Craters. They are, however, too well known to need description here, but to the south, in the Iraku country, are to be found other peoples less well known concerning which a few notes might be of interest.

The Wambulu natives occupy the high and fertile plateau of Iraku. They are an interesting, industrious, and intelligent people of Nilotic origin, tall, with fine features, and in many ways similar to the Watusi of Ruanda. Owing, however, to the continuous raids of the Māsai in former times, they are not numerous. They are very clever pastoralists and agriculturists, both the men and women working hard tending their large stocks of cattle, sheep and goats, and growing large and well-matured crops of maize, rice, sorghum, millet, eleusine, beans, yams, many kinds of native vegetables and European potatoes; they also raise quantities of fowls.

The Mbulu country has an exceedingly pleasing aspect with its well-ordered, often terraced, patches of cultivation, its quaint houses, its herds of cattle and sheep, its curious combination of clumps of thin-stemmed, tall Phoenix palms (with orange-coloured fruits), with large stretches of heather and bracken, and, along the many beautiful streams, clumps of graceful Tree Ferns.

The Wambulu houses are interesting. They are of three kinds: round, square, and oblong, either thatched with reeds, or with low mud roofs, sometimes above, and sometimes below ground. Those below ground, which may be called "dug-outs," are probably the oldest form of Wambulu houses; they are so well hidden in many cases by being dug-in to the sides of a steep slope or gully and covered with earth, upon

which grass has grown, as to be indistinguishable from their surroundings. Many of them have a narrow, winding trench entrance in the best military style. Until recently the Wambulu were in the habit of kraaling their stock in similar cave houses, but now they are kept in low-arched mud-roofed houses above ground, this style of cattle pen being in use even amongst the Sandawi natives of Kondoa-Irangi.

The Wambulu "dug-outs" have, as a rule, three compartments—a kind of entrance hall running across the breadth of the dwelling, and two other divisions behind this. Some of the houses are of quite large dimensions, fifteen feet by twenty-five feet being not uncommon. They contain raised pole tables for their earthenware cooking and other utensils and a raised reed bed. These natives use both the wooden mortar and a hollowed stone for pounding their flour. They bray skins well, which the women wear, and on to which are sewn beads and cowrie-shells, and are frequently tasselled in a neat manner. The men take their produce to market sewn into skin sacks, which they pack on to their small grey donkeys. The women carry large loads on their backs, strapped round their shoulders.

The country in many respects resembles the Ruanda, but there are no bananas, and it is, of course, cultivated to an extent that is never seen there. It is extremely well watered, with a rich, pasty soil of pink mica schist through which run large seams of mica and pink quartz. The contour of the highlands of the Great Craters to the north has been altered by the hoofs of millions of cattle passing and repassing across the centuries. Here, however, the run of the land has been altered by the hand of man, for, with the flight of time and a continual scooping out of the sides and heads of the water-courses for cultivation the face of the country has been completely changed.

Near the White Father's Mission of Mbulu is a small lake in and around which live many pythons, which are held in veneration by the Wambulu. The natives in the vicinity have the curious custom of carrying back to this lake any python that is found any distance away from it.

To the west of the Wambulu, inhabiting the neighbourhood

of the Yaida Swamp, are the Kindiga (wrongly called the Watindiga), of mixed Bantu and Nilotic affinities; also it is said some wandering Pygmy tribes. To the south again of the Kindiga are the pastoral Mangati (also Nilotic), a small tribe but immensely rich in cattle. Their cattle, being handed down from father to son, remain in the hands of individuals, each owner of a herd being a chief to himself. One man may own as many as 10,000 head of cattle. One of the Mangati customs is the right to wear an ivory bangle (or two as the case may be) above the elbow, when one of them has killed a lion and a man (a man may mean a child, and often does). A Mangati warrior, therefore, is thought very little of unless he can show this ivory bangle. To kill a lion is comparatively easy, but to kill a man in these days rather more difficult, hence this custom is becoming the cause of frequent murders amongst the otherwise peaceful Mangati. At the time of my visit to the neighbourhood, one chieftain had just been fined 500 head of cattle for killing a baby, for the sole purpose, it would appear, of obtaining the right to wear the bangle. The Mangati women on any special occasion or when visiting each other, don very fine soft, beaded leather cloaks, which are greatly prized amongst them.

To the south again of the Mangati are the Tatoga, under their present chief Yidahonga, once a powerful race and owners of the Great Craters and many heads of cattle, but now, due to the bloodthirsty Māsai, their power and possessions have dwindled to a mere shadow of their former greatness. Then there are still other tribes, the Wasi and Barungi. To the east of the Wambulu country, and down in the Rift Valley at the south end of Lake Manyara, are the Wambugwe, with a physique and language purely Bantu, it would seem. Although living so close to the Wambulu, they apparently have little to do with each other, as they are unable to understand each other's language. The Wambugwe are short and thickset and great runners; it is said they are able to run down and spear a wildebeest.

In conclusion let me say that as the Press has recently made reference to the great crater of Ngorongoro and the remarkable opportunity it affords of being made into a game sanctuary,

it may be of interest to note that my friend and travelling companion, Sir Charles Ross of Balnagown Castle, Ross-shire, who joined me on the expedition to which this article refers, was so impressed with the place, that on the first opportunity presenting itself he purchased the major portion of it with a view to carrying out a scheme of game preservation there.

T. ALEXANDER BARNES.

SOME NATIVE PROBLEMS IN EASTERN AFRICA ¹

PART I

I HAVE been asked by your President to deliver an address upon the portion of Africa which I know best—namely, British East Africa—and the choice of a subject has afforded me much thought, especially as I have to deal with a country which is so well known in England owing to the colonising efforts now in progress there, and also owing to the published works of numerous sportsmen who have been attracted there by the wealth of big game, for which the country has been justly famous.

I therefore feel that I should only bore you if I attempted to describe the physical features or the economic possibilities of the country, so will instead crave your indulgence by asking you to consider some aspects of what I believe to be the most momentous question in Africa to-day—namely, that of the African native.

It may be new to some of you that Great Britain is in Africa responsible for the destinies of no less than about 44 million natives. And in East Central Africa there are no less than 11 millions, made up as follows : in Kenya $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, Uganda 3 millions, Tanganyika Territory 4 millions, Nyasaland $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and Somaliland $\frac{1}{2}$ million.

The governance of these vast numbers of human beings, most of them in a fairly primitive condition of culture, is no mean burden, and I wonder how many people in England realise the magnitude of the task or the responsibility it involves.

I will go further and venture to say that the future of Africa, and maybe the future of the Empire, depends upon our success or failure in dealing wisely with the native problems which

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society, held at the Royal Society of Arts on February 22nd, 1923. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 240.

exist, and which will, as time goes on, become more numerous and more difficult.

If I can do anything to demonstrate to this Society the importance of these matters I shall be content, and would fain urge the members to spare no efforts both collectively and individually to act as missionaries and endeavour to quicken the intelligent interest of the British public in the subject. It will be preferable that guidance should emanate from a body like this, which contains so many who have studied at first hand the native in his own country, rather than that public opinion should be swayed by a number of eloquent extremists or those inclined to one-sided views through sentimentalism.

The African native luckily has not a very complex psychology, but his outlook in life varies greatly from that of European races. He is neither an angel nor an animal, but a simple human being with many faults and some virtues. He is dominated to a much greater extent by the impulse of the moment, he meditates less on affairs of the past (except perhaps on ancient debts of cattle and the feuds arising therefrom), he exercises but little forethought for the morrow.

All this usually induces a happy and cheerful disposition, and he has a great sense of humour, albeit of a simple type, and all allow that this is a saving grace which counterbalances many defects.

The various tribes differ, of course, a good deal, the Māsai, for instance, are not such a merry people as the Kavirondo and they brood more over the past, but taking it all round the African is a cheerful soul.

The native has a keen appreciation of justice as applied to himself, but when in a position to impose his will upon others this sense of justice often becomes a little fogged. An African who has not naturally succeeded to authority, but who is placed in that position by European choice, often becomes a bully, and it is an unfortunate tendency, for the trouble it may produce probably falls less on the bully than on his employer.

Natives also have an intuitive insight regarding the character of the Europeans with whom they come in contact, they seem to know at once whom they can trifle with and who not and

whom they can trust. They respond readily to sympathy and genuine interest; they, moreover, rarely bare any ill-will.

One of the most trying characteristics of the African is his caprice, and this is one which brings him into conflict with European employers; it is partly due to credulity—a tribesman will appear and spread some unfounded gossip about events in the tribal reserve, and persuade the whole of a labour gang to clear out during the night; individual men will suddenly disappear because they have certain magical duties to perform; there are many causes. Some Europeans have an uncanny way of sensing discontent, and manage to either avoid or emerge successfully from crises caused by native idiosyncrasies—such ability is a heaven-sent gift, but even without the natural instinct a great deal can be done by the faculty of taking pains.

The African is by nature greedy and covetous, but these traits rarely seem to do him much good, for if he amasses wealth he seems to be devoid of the idea of utilising it to improve his condition of life. This is in a measure due to his inability to exert continuous effort in any unaccustomed direction, he will display great interest in some new improvement or scheme for a little while, but readily tires of it.

Mentally the African appears to lack little, and providing that he has the benefit of European supervision, it would appear to be difficult to quote a limit to his capacity, and this is an important point. As regards facility of learning, there appears to be little wrong with his brain and he can also attain considerable manual dexterity. As far as we can judge, however, he appears to usually lack initiative and balance, and to possess little of the dogged driving power or persistence of effort which forces Europeans to success. His sexual instincts are stronger than those of a European, and probably often conflict with his mental progress, he further lacks the self-restraint which centuries of civilisation have produced in European races. His natural religion, primitive as it may appear to us, is a very vivid factor in his life, and this fact must not be overlooked.

He has great devotion to his clan or blood kin, but is lacking in civic sense—that is to say, a sense of altruism in the interests of the community at large. In a word, *character* in the

widest sense is his greatest need, and it is this character development which presents the greatest difficulty in any scheme of native education.

This is, of course, a very cursory summary and omits many factors contributory to his psychology, but it must suffice for the purpose of this paper.

Land.

The native land question is probably one of the most important of those which a governing power has to deal with in Africa, although it is not always in the fore-front, like, for instance, the supply of labour.

A couple of hundred years ago in England the land and its produce was the absorbing question, but as the country has become industrialised the fate of the farming community appears to be considered as of less national importance. In Africa, however, the native realises that he lives or dies according to whether the land yields its harvest or not. Consequently access to and unrestricted use of land is a vital necessity to him. As may be expected, the African's idea of land tenure is more primitive than in the Western world, but it is none the less real for all that.

It is often described as communal, but that term hardly expresses it. Each tribe occupies and holds a certain area which is the land of the tribe, and the boundaries of which are fairly well known, although on the borders one will often find strips which are in dispute with adjacent tribes; in other cases there is a belt of forest or bush land mutually left as neutral territory between two tribes. Among the various agricultural tribes, customs of course vary to some extent, but the usual principle is that each family within the tribal area has sole rights over the land it cultivates, or, to put it another way, a family acquires the sole rights over any piece of land it clears and reclaims from primeval bush or forest. I will give an instance. In Kikuyu country in Kenya the land was originally covered with forest; the hunting Dorobo people were the first occupants of the area, and they did not cultivate, but lived by the chase and by the collection of honey. As the Kikuyu became more numerous they acquired from the

Dorobo rights over areas of forest, ridge by ridge, and paid to them large numbers of sheep and goats for these rights. It is not to be imagined that the Dorobo ever considered that they owned the soil, all they sold was the right of peaceful occupation and the right to deal with the forest as was thought fit.

The various Kikuyu families then proceeded to settle on the particular ridges they had acquired, cut down the forest and planted crops. Having paid for the sole rights over a ridge it was then considered the property of the family purchasing the same, and rights over it were vested in the family head. Later on the principle that it was on no account to be alienated from the family was evolved, and if any person alien to the family was allowed to cultivate a portion of the land, he had to pay a yearly tribute to the family head. This is an interesting case, because it shows how the principles of land ownership gradually develop. Further, in no native community has any individual the right to sell tribal land to anyone alien to the tribe.

When the Crown assumed rights of governance over the land in this territory, land laws became necessary, and it was decreed that, with the exception of the ten-mile coastal strip on lease from the Sultan of Zanzibar, the whole of the land in the Protectorate was Crown land. This was, from a legal point of view, a very remarkable step, especially as the territory had only the status of a Protectorate, and any rights of the Crown had furthermore not been acquired by conquest but by peaceful penetration. This procedure has been adopted in other parts of Africa. At the same time, however, it was made clear that native tribes would continue to enjoy the lands of which they were in possession, with the proviso that they should not be disturbed in occupancy, except with the consent of the Secretary of State, and that if any of their land was alienated, other land in compensation should be given, *if available*; and further, that the native lands should be defined and gazetted.

This assumption by the Crown of rights over the land was no doubt only done for the sake of legal convenience and with the highest motives, and it should be clearly understood that

the Colonial Office has faithfully observed its duty as a trustee for the native lands, and no tribe has suffered appreciably as yet.

A few regrettable grants have been made, which crept into existence through the applications being made on behalf of philanthropic or missionary enterprises; unfortunately certain of these ventures have failed, and some of the land involved is, it is believed, being offered for sale.

The Nandi tribe, whose boundaries were clearly defined after a punitive expedition for serious misdeeds, claims that under a new definition of its land it has been deprived of part of its original area, but I feel sure, however, that the Governor and the Colonial Office will assure themselves that this tribe will not suffer.

Generally speaking it may be said that each tribe in Kenya has abundant land and a good deal to spare; in many cases tribes have a vast amount to spare, but in some areas more water needs to be conserved in order to render it permanently accessible.

Native cultivation, however, is of a most primitive nature and extremely wasteful in land; the natives' practice is to use a plot of land for a season or two and then move on to new soil on the plea that the former plot is exhausted. If it is available he prefers to destroy virgin forest, for although he does not know why, he has discovered that forest land is more fertile, the accumulation of humus and the potash in the ashes of the burnt trees providing a marvellous supply of plant food for a few years. In Kikuyu country, for instance, in the last fifty years or so, the natives have destroyed over 1000 square miles of magnificent forest, of immense value. The native has no idea of rotation of crops or deep cultivation, by which means the use of land might be prolonged indefinitely. What happens when he moves on? In the moister parts of the country Nature comes to the rescue and covers the deserted area with a thick mantle of secondary growth, and the fertility gradually revives; in the more arid parts of the country erosion removes the humus from the slopes during the seasons of the heavy rains, and a large extent of country is ruined for many years to come.

The adequacy of the native reserves for an increasing population, therefore, rests not so much on their area as on the ability of the Government to teach the inhabitants better methods of cultivation, and up to now it is feared that but little has been done in this direction, for the duties of the agricultural department in this sphere have not been fully admitted. Good resolutions have been made from time to time to devote more attention to native agricultural training, but administrative officers have often noted with regret the failure of such schemes to materialise.

The natives are not particularly alarmed about their future needs, but their security of tenure to their present holdings is exercising many minds in certain parts of the country, and the question is said to be widely discussed at native gatherings. They see European farms springing up in many directions, they know that the occupiers thereof hold their land under some sort of written covenant from Government, and there is a widespread feeling that they ought to also have a "barua ya serkali," *i. e.* some form of written guarantee. They have possibly been occasionally encouraged in this view by non-Europeans who hope that if natives have titles they will be pledgeable for debts incurred.

Some distrust, it is said, has also been created by the deliberations of a Land Tenure Commission, and recommendations connected with it, to the effect that the extent of the native reserves should be reviewed, and natives capable of understanding such deliberations feel that any such review would not add to their lands, but the reverse. The proposal of the Commission that a locally appointed body should have power to grant leases of land in reserves to non-natives without reference to the Secretary of State and for the purpose of factories designed to benefit the natives is, moreover, not calculated to reassure the native mind.

Knowing the impeccable position which the Colonial Office has always held on this question, the native fears are doubtless unfounded; but for all that, disquiet does exist, and it will probably be wise if the local government will take definite steps to allay the widespread feeling of distrust which has grown up.

It is not to be thought for a moment that the grant of individual tenure in native reserves is recommended, for such a procedure would, I am convinced, be the greatest administrative error, and would do more to disintegrate the native communities than any other method it is possible to devise.

A policy which would result in the formation of what social reformers term "a landless proletariat" might suit the immediate needs of some, but the result would be unpleasant to contemplate—unpleasant both for rulers and ruled. Under the present African system of family tenure no member of the community is ever in want except in periods of general famine; if he leaves his tribal area for a time to go out and work, when he returns he can claim access to land and so raise his own food. There are thus no paupers in agricultural Africa, and it is mainly due to this sensible system of land tenure. To introduce European ideas of freehold and mortgage among the people in this stage of culture would, I am convinced, spell disaster; they are by nature most improvident, and are by culture ignorant of our land system and its effect; it would consequently be well-nigh impossible to prevent them from pledging their most precious asset. Even if the right of alienation was confined to their own tribesmen, it would immediately result in the appearance of landlords of their own race who would prove as rapacious as any outsiders. The grant of individual titles to the Arab and Swahili landowners in the coastal zone of Kenya is a good example; for there, as is well known, within a few years the bulk of the land has drifted into the hands of Asiatics as a result of extravagance, laziness, and lack of business capacity on the part of the Arab and Swahili owners, and every effect to check the social decay of the coast population has failed, for they have lost their chief incentive, viz. possession of the land. (They were originally induced to sell their land owing to the loss of their slaves' labour.)

The whole of this question of policy is bound up with the system of government it is intended to pursue in countries like the one under consideration, *i. e.* whether "direct" or "indirect" rule.

It would take too long to fully argue out this matter, but it

boils down to this. Is the native to be encouraged and guided in the direction of developing his own natural organisation—that is, indirect rule—or is it to be broken up, and his internal government to be entirely conducted by European magistrates according to the rules of European-made law? That is direct rule.

Each policy has its advocates. There is a type of European who is biased against the retention of any authority by Africans in their own country, and even missionaries at times display impatience with native rule because it hampers the progress of conversion to higher beliefs.

There can, however, to my mind be no doubt upon which side the welfare and contentment of the native population lies; the African system of government, imperfect as it often is, is a natural system adjusted to the requirements of the mass of the people; it has not shown itself to be inelastic and incapable of adjustment to newer influences, and it can be gradually modified to meet modern requirements without losing its intrinsic value if supported by a sympathetic and intelligent executive and if it is not unduly rushed. I have mentioned it in this connection because it rests to a very great extent on the native system of land tenure.

The great success which has attended the maintenance of indirect rule in Nigeria and other West African Colonies should be carefully considered by rash reformers who wish to experiment in direct rule.

To my mind, all that needs to be done with regard to the native lands in this part of Africa is the preparation of a series of formal documents, each with an attached plan, showing the area dedicated to the tribe; each document would set forth a covenant on behalf of Government to grant in perpetuity the defined area to the use of the tribe, subject to the reservation of mineral rights, and would be signed by H.E. the Governor on behalf of the Crown and accepted by the representatives of the tribe on the other part.

This procedure shou'ld, I consider, be adopted in the case of the Kavirondo, Nandi, Lumbwa, and Kikuyu, who are the tribes liable to be particularly affected by the land question and who are most exercised by it.

It may be urged that such a procedure will permanently close the door to future progress and development, but such a plea cannot be seriously maintained, for an agreement freely entered into can be mutually modified in character by future agreement, if any particular tribe really desires at any time to alter its form of land tenure. The main object at present is to promote a feeling of security regarding this question.

Detribalised Natives.

A great deal of talk is often heard about the detribalised native and his future, but the solution of this question should not be one of great difficulty.

Detribalised natives belong to one of two classes :—

(1) Natives who have left their homes and worked for a number of years for Europeans either in towns or on farms, or again for Government as soldiers or police. In many cases such individuals have imbibed ideas above the general plane of culture of their tribe, and they may in many cases have become Christians or Mohammedans.

If such persons desire to go back and live among the tribe, there is little to prevent them; native opinion is very tolerant on the point, and they could be assured of obtaining access to land for cultivation; any trouble, however, generally comes from themselves, for they are sometimes inclined to defy the local native authorities and consider themselves as outside the native law. Further, there is a tendency among natives of this class to attempt to arrogate to themselves the right to speak for their particular tribe as a whole without any brief entitling them to do so. If this attitude is curbed by the European executive, and if the pleader is restrained from practice in the native areas, there should be little trouble. In the case of recalcitrancy the native authority should with the approval of the Executive be empowered to eject the offender. If ejected he should be allowed to rent land on an area reserved for persons of this class.

(2) Natives of other territories. Owing to the facilities of peaceful communication, natives of adjoining territories are found in considerable numbers around the towns, employed in

trading and other pursuits. In addition to the town locations, if it is possible to set aside land upon which such can settle, it is advisable to do so, and small agricultural plots should be rented to them, for they are much more likely to become desirable citizens if they have gardens than if they have no settled abode. In no case, however, should land be excised from a tribal reserve for these strangers.

No general rule can be laid down as to provision for these so-called detribalised people, who after all are the result of our civilisation impinging on that of the natives, but the question needs to be dealt with sympathetically and according to the merits of each case.

Native Taxation.

No one likes paying taxes, and I think that one of the reasons is that it is not immediately apparent that one gets due value for one's money; such a great deal of the expenditure is carried out beyond our view. The African, however, views taxation somewhat differently to Europeans, for he looks upon it as tribute to a supreme power, as replacing what he paid to a chief in past times. In the more remote areas up till recently I have always felt that the natives looked upon the tax as a personal emolument of the Commissioner.

It follows then that the natives as a rule do not inquire very closely as to how the tax money is expended, but are chiefly concerned with the amount.

As everyone is doubtless aware, the direct native tax in much of Africa is levied on the hut and poll, and for many years the annual amount in this Colony was three rupees per hut, the adult bachelors, who had no huts of their own, paid three rupees per head. As the older and richer men, however, often possess more than one wife, it is provided that they shall pay tax on every additional wife beyond the first.

During the last five years native taxes have increased apace in Kenya Colony; at first the amount imposed on the richer districts was increased to five rupees per hut or poll, and then that amount became general. When the florin was introduced the tax unostentatiously slid from five rupees to five florins,

and as the financial troubles of the Colony increased it was raised in 1921 to eight florins.

This phenomenal increase, however, proved that the breaking point had been reached; even in the most prosperous times it would be far beyond the paying capacity of most of the people, but it was concurrent with a fall in wages, with a period of reduced employment, restricted trade, and, to crown all, with a local shortage of food due to a partial drought.

The result was what might have been expected; protests began to roll in from all quarters, the increase furnished seditious agitators with a good argument of oppression, the missions expressed dissatisfaction, and the importing merchants pointed out with force that excessive taxation restricted the buying capacity of the natives and thus damaged trade.

As regards the coast lands the result was particularly disastrous, for large numbers migrated to Zanzibar, which is one of the few delectable spots where the natives pay no direct taxes.

The position was speedily realised by the Colonial Office, and the tax was accordingly reduced to 12s. per hut or poll, an amount which I venture to think is still too high for the many of the natives.

Lord Cromer long ago laid down the principle that "in countries like Egypt and the Sudan, low taxation should be the keystone of the arch."

This wise dictum applies with equal force to the whole of black Africa, and I venture to consider that it should never be lost sight of.

Apart from the amount of the tax, I would submit that the hut and poll tax as collected and applied at present has certain inherent defects.

Intelligent natives have often asked me what became of all the boxes of silver which they annually saw conveyed to the Central Treasury, and except as regards the pay of the district staff, police, etc., it was somewhat difficult to explain.

I therefore hope that it will not be resented if I express the opinion that the time has now come when the principle of participation in the proceeds of the tax should be definitely adopted. This has for a number of years been the policy in force in Nigeria and it has worked admirably. In many

parts of that colony a native treasury has been founded, and a proportion of the tax receipts is credited to that institution, the money being under control of the Commissioner of the District and the local native heads of the tribe. In this way a public spirit is aroused, a definite incentive to the improvement of the district is created, a feeling of co-operation is produced, and the position of the local heads of the community cannot fail to be enhanced.

I would therefore suggest that the tax be divided into two parts. Firstly, a fixed sum per hut or poll which is to go to the Central Government, and this should not if possible exceed 5s.; secondly, I would like to see an annual levy of at present not more than 3s., or at most 4s., which would constitute a fund in each district to be entirely spent in the interests of the natives in that district. This extra amount might, moreover, be elastic, and in periods of drought and food shortage it might be temporarily reduced in the district where shortage prevailed, and some of the poorer tribes might not be able to pay as large a tribal levy as others more prosperous.

The general lines upon which expenditure from the native fund can be made would be laid down by the Governor. The salaries of village headmen and tribal police would naturally come from this source, the cost of village schools, court-houses, roads in the reserve, and as time goes on it is hoped that contributions would be available for educational and medical services. A sinking fund to provide against years of famine would also be a sound thing.

The administration of this fund could not fail to quicken the interest of the people in their own areas; it would, I believe, result in the genesis of a civic spirit and would demonstrate more than anything the fairness of Government. It would stimulate the efforts of the headmen to collect the taxes, for the more efficiently they were collected, the more there would be to spend on their native land. It would do a good deal to quash the popular view with regard to their Commissioner, *i. e.* that he is mainly a tax-gatherer, and would thus make for greater harmony and good feeling, and I should also like to see tax defaulters dealt with by the native courts instead of by the Commissioners.

As was pointed out, the hut and poll tax is rather a primitive fiscal institution, but it is at present difficult to devise anything which could adequately replace it, and at the same time be easy of collection. The time is, however, rapidly approaching when even among the agricultural tribes a small tax on cattle can be imposed, for under the present system the rich man only differs from the poor man by his wealth of live-stock, and sooner than increase the tax on the hut and poll, the substantial herds of the family heads could quite well be called upon to contribute something.

I have felt constrained to dwell at some length upon the question of native taxation because it is a well-known fact that there is to-day a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with Government on account of the rapid increase of the burden, particularly as it is in excess of that in the countries bordering the Colony.

C. W. HOBLEY.

(To be continued.)

THE AFRICAN BUFFALO

AMONGST the African representatives of the genus or sub-genus *Bubalus* the Buffaloes, are a number of types or variations in size, colour and shape of horns. The extreme forms, the little red pygmy buffalo of the Ituri forest and the huge black buffalo of the Cape, are very unlike, and much uncertainty has existed as to whether they and the intermediate types are merely local races of a single variable species, or specialised types of two distinct species.

Two Distinct Species.

It was supposed that there existed a gradation of types between the little red buffalo, undoubtedly the most primitive, and the Cape black. Such an assumption, I venture to think, is based upon an insufficient knowledge of the animals themselves and is not warranted.

As the result of an extended experience in widely separated parts of Africa and of information I have been able to gather from others, I am convinced that this gradation of types does not exist, but that there are two distinct species, divisible into a number of more or less well-recognised types, races or sub-species, the individuals of each of which can be recognised, very largely by the shape of the horns, as belonging to one or the other of the two groups or species.

Systematic zoologists, working mainly with Museum specimens, have attempted to divide the different races or sub-species according to the supposed constant differences to be observed in the conformation of the horns of the males. Though most important, horn characters are insufficient for a basis of classification. Size, build, colour of both sexes and habitat must be taken into account, especially habitat, for it will be found that all the occupants of the little red group are forest animals or have forest associations, and are confined to the West African faunal and floral region, whereas those of the massive black group all prefer bush or open grass country and

are not found in high forest, nor does their range area, except at one spot, as I will explain, overlap that of the above-mentioned West African region.

The Western Group (Bos or Bubalus nanus).

These are all red or dark brown animals at maturity, developing a blackish mantle, legs, ears and tail tuft, in later life, and in many cases becoming sable black in old age, especially the males. They are small, even diminutive, lightly-built animals having none of the ferocious, heavy appearance of the massive black eastern and Cape buffaloes. They have small, comparatively narrow, and unbossed horns, directed more or less upwards, having no initial downward and outward sweep. Their ears are heavily fringed and have a dull white lock near their extremity. The coat is comparatively long and ample, and the calves of both sexes are tawny red.

Their range area is from Senegambia to about Benguella, extending inland to the western Lakes Rift and the Chad-Niger Soudan. The smallest are to be found in the Ituri and central Congo-basin forests, and the largest and darkest in colour, but which still retain all the characters of the group, in the marginal forest regions from Lake Chad to Sierra Leone. In West Africa the term "bush cow" is frequently used for the members of this group.

The Eastern and Southern Group (Bubalus caffer).

These are black, heavily built, ferocious-looking animals, with scanty coat, and massive, rugged and enormously bossed horns, nearly or quite meeting in the middle line, and characterised by their initial downward and outward sweep, wide spread, and strong inward curvature. The calves in South Africa are black at birth, but as one proceeds northward an increasing number are tawny red. They are bush and grass country animals, and their range extends from the Cape to Southern Congo, East Africa, Uganda, the British Soudan and Abyssinia. Only in southern Congo does their range area widely overlap that of the Western Group, owing to the mixing in that region of the forest and bush, but the herds of the two groups

seem never to mix or mingle. There is no evidence of interbreeding of the little reds with the massive blacks.

Origin of the Cape Buffalo.

The modification and specialisation of the massive black buffalo is apparently altogether trivial in comparison with that of the little reds, and it is reasonable to assume that they are the offspring of animals introduced, presumably from the north-east, at a comparatively recent date, when Africa's great forests were already curtailed, and recession of the Equatorial forest belt from the East Coast had already commenced. The migration of these animals has no doubt been southward along the East Coast regions, and their gradual increase in size, weight and horn dimensions, is doubtless the result of better life conditions, richer grazing grounds and the effects of sunlight, until the maximum development was attained on the grass plains of South Africa and the Cape, where for a long period they were allowed to luxuriate unmolested, increasing in size and numbers, until disease and improvident man at last interfered.

Life-History of the Pygmy Buffalo.

Whether introduced from the north-east, when Europe and Asia were more closely connected by land with Africa than now, and the great forests were intact, or whether belonging to an African stock of earlier age, it seems certain that the little primitive red buffalo, now confined to the Ituri and Congo basin forests, some of the last remaining remnants of the once great forest belt stretching across the continent from sea to sea, is all that remains of the early African forest buffalo, dwarfed and specialised in colour and habits by existence for long ages in dark forest surroundings.

The life history of the little forest buffalo seems to have followed closely similar lines to that of pygmy man in the same regions. This race of little men, the Bambute dwarfs, in stature only 3 feet 9 inches to 4 feet 3 inches, about the same height as the pygmy buffalo, is the last of primitive African forest man, now confined to the recesses of the Ituri, and

similarly specialised by his long existence under dark and sunless conditions.

The Ituri Forest.

The Ituri forest is remarkable as being the only habitat of the Okapi (*Okapia johnstoni*), a pygmy giraffe, the specialised remnant probably of the ancestral stock of the present-day giraffes, animals which have been pushed out of the fast-diminishing forest and have long since lost their forest associations.

In this wonderful isolated block of forest in which I spent eighteen months in 1912 and 1913, living and hunting day by day with my little friends the pygmies, is also to be found the forest or pygmy elephant, the giant forest hog, the giant scaly ant-eater, the giant ant-bear (*Orycteropus*), and other comparatively little-known forest denizens reminiscent of past ages. Like the rapidly drying pool with its concentrated pond-life approaching destruction, the Ituri forest seems to contain the last remaining and rapidly disappearing representatives of Africa's one-time virgin forest inhabitants, both animal and man.

The Sable Black of Old Age.

When living in the Ituri the black examples of the little red buffalo were a constant source of puzzle to me. That they really are the old ones there can be no doubt. My little pygmy friends and other natives with whom I hunted were all agreed upon that point; and yet I never succeeded in shooting a nearly black animal, one in the stage of transition between the dark red mantle and the sable black. Those I shot had no signs of a red coat about them, were usually solitary animals, and nearly always in poor condition, thin, sunken eyed and ragged looking, but instead of their horns being worn down and blunted as usually is the case in old bulls of the massive black types, these animals, both males and females, almost invariably carried horns with comparatively long pointed tips, the best heads of their type in fact. This held good also in many animals I saw from time to time brought in for meat at the various

stations round the forest. Moreover, in many cases these black animals, I noticed, were affected with various degrees of corneal opacity. They are much feared by the pygmies and other native hunters, and rightly so, for they will sometimes charge at sight without apparent provocation. I experienced several narrow escapes from them.

Returning to camp one afternoon near Mawambi after a long blank day, tired and careless, Suliman, my gun-bearer, whom I rarely took into the forest, suddenly whispered "mbogo," and I caught sight of a black buffalo not ten yards away in the undergrowth. My shot shattered his shoulder, raking him fore and aft, and I was only just in time, for he was already on the move, and fell a few feet in front of us, almost on the elephant path we were following.

At one of the Belgian posts near the forest edge, where askaris (native soldiers) were detailed almost daily to hunt meat for the troops, I was told that nearly all the accidents which occurred with buffalo, and they were not infrequent, were caused by the little black ones. While I happened to be there an askari wounded one of these black forest beasts, a cow in calf, his bullet entering the face just below one of the eyes. According to his account he was fiercely charged and tossed. He then dropped his rifle, fought the infuriated animal with his knife, holding on to its horns to protect himself. In the end he actually succeeded in killing the buffalo and getting back to the station, but he was so injured that he died a few days later. I saw the head and skin and meat brought in, with the foetus, a red one, and my notes record that the head was a good one for a female and with long pointed tips.

The Ituri River.

Some of the best sport that I ever had with any animal was with the little red Ituri buffaloes on the Mawambi reaches of the Ituri river in 1913. My headquarters were at Mawambi, at that time one of the Administrative posts on the river, but now, I believe, a Missionary station. Above and below the post is some of the most beautiful forest, rock and river, scenery that could be found anywhere. The Ituri here is a succession of deep, black, eddying, rock-bound pools, overhung with trees;

or it widens out and becomes a series of noisy rapids, or broad expanses of broken water, dotted with little islands, sometimes large and forested. I had several favourite camping spots, one of which we called Lee Bata camp, for some reason I forget, where huts were built for my canoe-men and boys and a cleared space ready for my tents at any time. At this and other island camps I generally used the outer fly of my tent for dining or working under, and a smaller tent for stores, skins, etc. I usually had with me a fair-sized dug-out canoe for moving camp, and a smaller one for crossing the river, or going up and down amongst the islands. The most beautiful spots were generally overlooking the broad stretches of broken water interspersed with rocks and little green islands, but these one had to avoid as camping-places, for the noise of the water prevented one hearing other sounds from the forest.

Good Sport.

From Lee Bata camp I usually set out up stream a little before dawn, so as to reach the top of some rapids just above the island about daylight. Beyond these rapids was a chain of long wooded islands, on one or other of which we were almost sure to find buffalo. They would detect the noise of the poles against the sides of the canoe as we worked up stream, however careful the men were, and would make for the next island above, and often enough we would catch them in the broken water between the islands as they crossed. On these occasions, as they jumped and floundered across, they made very pretty shooting in the early morning light. Sometimes the thick white mist hung over the river so thickly that all we could do was to pole along in silence, examining the banks for marks of recent crossings of buffalo or elephant, or listening for indications of the latter, for these islands were always favourite sanctuaries, and contained many snug places in which a tusker, or even a small herd of elephants, could remain hidden during the day.

Sometimes a buffalo taken unawares would jump from the bank into deep water and swim across, affording a difficult shot, either in the water with his head only showing, or as he reached the further bank, if it were not too much overhung

with trees. Snapshots at buffalo under these circumstances at fifty, sixty or a hundred yards require some practice, and when one is standing in a wibbly-wabbly canoe the difficulty is greater, but it is surprising how skilful one may become at it. Much depends, it seemed to me, upon the rifle and its sighting. With a heavy rifle I always found it easier than with a light one. That which I used was a double .500 cordite elephant gun, with short barrels and sighted almost like a shot-gun, with low foresight, and backsight consisting of the smallest of flaps, scarcely raised above the rib level, with a wide shallow V. This weapon I got so used to that I could throw it up to my shoulder and make good shooting standing in the canoe, though it weighed over twelve pounds, and fire almost as quickly as I could with a shot-gun.

In going up and down this river, in and out of rocky, grassy or wooded islands, one had to be continually ready on the instant for buffalo. I remember coming down one of the rapids from another camp up river in my big canoe with a full load of kit, skins, collections, boys, etc. I was seated, as usual, in a small camp chair, enjoying the wonderful scenery, with my rifle between my knees, when as we turned a corner I suddenly saw a buffalo getting to his feet in a little grassy space under some bushes perhaps forty yards away. He was fortunately on my left side, and I took the shot sitting. Down he went almost before he had really got on to his legs. We had to pole round to the other side of the island, and enter the thick stuff in which the beast had been lying, with the utmost caution, ready for eventualities, for the vitality of these little brutes is astonishing. We soon found him dead, and I turned on all hands to the skinning, then to the cutting up and the loading of the meat into the small canoe, for my big one was full up, overloaded in fact. It is always anxious work navigating these swift, rocky rivers, especially coming down the rapids, for the bottoms of the canoes are generally rotten, and the sharp edge of a submerged rock, if the look-out man in front is careless, may at any moment plunge one into irretrievable disaster or worse. But in this case we got to camp safely, and contentment reigned in the evening, as it always did when "mboga" (buffalo meat) was on the menu.

An Exciting Chase.

Back at the same camp a few days afterwards I set out before dawn with two canoe-men and my Swahili gun-bearer, and, poling up the rapids, searched the chain of islands, each with a diagonal rapid between, without seeing a thing, until we came at last, after two hours' poling and exploring, to where the river widened out to half a mile or more, and was dotted with rocks and small islands. As we rounded the end of the last island of the chain we caught sight of three buffaloes in the broken water swimming and wading to another island a thousand yards away. The trio consisted of a red cow with a red half-grown calf, accompanied by an old black bull, and it was a toss-up whether we could get within shot before they reached the island they were making for. We had an exciting race, the men poling for all they were worth, and the buffaloes, now in deep water, swimming steadily on, the cow and calf in front, the bull behind, without looking round, although they knew well enough we were there. It was a long swim for them, against the current, and I had an uncomfortable feeling that it was taking rather a mean advantage of them.

At last, when we were within a hundred and fifty yards, I saw the cow touch bottom, and presently get into shallower water. I was not out altogether for sport, but to get a series of skins for Museum purposes, and I hoped to bag all three, so I signalled to the men to stop poling. As they tried to hold the canoe steady with their poles I fired, just as the cow came to a stand and was turning half round to look at us. My bullet caught her behind the shoulders and she fell on the bank, as the calf landed and scrambled into the forest on the island before I could get a good aim. After my shot we poled on, the bull still swimming, and as we got a little nearer he found his feet, turned round, gazed at us for a few seconds, then plunged into the water and came straight for us. It was a plucky charge, and I had to take him in the water as he swam. For the first few moments I wondered how to get at him, for I did not want to injure the skull, but the strong current was carrying us both down stream, and fierce and determined though he looked, he half turned his head with the idea, I think,

of going back to the island. That gave me my chance and I fired at his neck. As I had feared after so long a swim, the body sank almost at once, and although we probed and searched for two hours or more we had to give it up, nor did we find it till two days afterwards. It was a good head, the horns, as usual with the black ones, carrying comparatively long pointed tips.

The calf I shot a few days later near the same spot. On rounding a corner we came upon him just landing on some half-submerged rocks, by an island, about 200 yards in front of us up stream. He had apparently had a long swim again, probably following some buffaloes which had crossed from the island we had just passed. These had been disturbed by our approach, for we had got into difficulties in the rapid below, and the captain of the canoe had to give some sharp directions to the man at the stern which must have carried for some distance. He stood looking at us, while we worked nearer and nearer till the range was about 120 yards. Then I stopped the men, and while they held the canoe as steady as possible I took aim, but he was nearly into the forest before I could get on to him and fire, getting him plumb in the shoulder. Sometimes one is able to get much nearer, but often one has to fire before the men are able to ground the canoe or hold her steady.

With the calf on board we had a heavy load, but a few hours later, after a bad moment or two, we got down the rapid safely and landing at an old camp, hauled the carcass on to the bank beneath the shade of the trees. There, after marking out the cuts, I set the men to work skinning while I had lunch.

A Leopard in Camp.

This old camp had on one occasion been the scene of some excitement. We had camped there on the way down to Mawambi. Late in the afternoon I had shot a buffalo, the skinning of which had kept us occupied till dark, and on reaching camp we unloaded only what was wanted for that night, leaving most of the meat in the dug-out tied to the bank. My tent was less than thirty yards away, and, with a flap open, as I always had it, I could plainly see the canoe, which was in the light and backed by the river. About midnight, being

a very light sleeper, some voices in the boys' quarters woke me, and the next thing I heard was the coughing see-saw noise of a hungry leopard. The brute kept us all on the *qui vive* till nearly morning; sometimes it seemed by my tent, sometimes by the boys' hut, then up and down in the space between. For a long time I lay and watched from beneath my net; then I slipped out and sat near the tent door with my shot-gun, slugs in the left barrel, a spherical bullet in the right. After a while I saw the canoe move and a black form appeared outlined upon its edge. Aiming as carefully as I could in the moonlight, I fired, hoping not to injure the canoe, and the beast fell into the water on the river-side where there was a strong current. Leopards are not common in the forest and I was afraid we had lost him. Nothing more could be done at the time, but at daylight the men found him lower down, wounded in the spine and unable to get up the bank. It was easy to put an end to him with the small rifle, but his last struggles carried the body into the stream and again we nearly lost him after all.

Hunting the little red buffalo in forest away from the river is much more difficult, tedious and dangerous than simply catching him on the islands and intervening rapids. By tracking one usually is able to come up with him sooner or later, but he is almost as wary and difficult to approach as the Okapi. He is the one animal clever enough to recognise the tread of man by hearing alone, at least I have often thought so, and in situations where I have been likely to meet buffalo I have learnt to dissemble my steps. He is incredibly active and quick in all his movements, and having extremely short, sturdy legs, he is able to travel at speed in the densest tangle or underwood, equalling the bongo (*Euryceros*) probably under such conditions, but instead of going through the tangle as the bongo will, torpedo-wise, he passes beneath everything, like the forest pig. I find that in my field notes I have frequently called him "the rat of the forest." When on the move the herd travels single file, and in favourite haunts one finds "runs," regular rat-runs, in all directions.

The "Rat" of the Forest.

After feeding in the early morning he will set off, perhaps between eight and ten o'clock, earlier or later according to the brightness or dullness of the morning, for some dense tangled retreat, there to lie up for the day, and I know few more difficult or more exciting games than following, and trying to catch him napping. It requires infinitely more skill and forest-craft than getting up to the larger and less active black races of buffalo in bush or grass. The tracks will often lead far into the forest before a stand is made in some dense undergrowth, as if the animals, if there be more than one, had stopped to discuss the direction. Then on they go again, into some stream, along the bed of which they will pass in the water for some considerable distance until they leave it for another tangled thicket, where they again come to a stand, and after a while lie down. Then if the hunter succeeds, with infinite pains, crawling and creeping most of the while, in coming up with them, viewing one of them, and getting in a shot, he is lucky. Time after time I have got up so close that I could distinctly hear the animals breathing, but could see nothing and had no chance of a shot. Sometimes the flap of an ear or some movement will locate the position of one of them, but more often than not there is a sudden crash and they are gone. Even when located one often loses one's shot, for it is almost impossible to see enough to tell which way the animal is lying. I have frequently lost my chance as I was in the act of putting up the rifle, for in doing so the quick-sighted little beasts' attention has been attracted by the light from above reflected from the rib or the barrels. All rifles seem to have this defect as regards forest shooting, and it is a pity that gunmakers have paid no attention to the subject. I have tried everything I could think of to dull the barrels without success. Everything rubs off in the moist forest. Covering them with leather is effective, but unfortunately it will not remain in place and soon becomes a nuisance.

A successful shot, if not a shoulder or a neck one, must be through the lungs, heart or great vessels. If too far back hours of dangerous tracking will often not secure him. In

such a game the proportion of cows which fall to one's rifle is always large. It is usually quite impossible to differentiate the sexes before firing unless the animal is in full view. Moreover, the cows, I fancy, are more easily killed than the bulls, for they will frequently stand or hesitate just at the critical moment, when the bulls are concentrating on the business of saving their skins. No rat is cleverer or quicker at reaching his hole than these little red forest bulls at getting away.

Catlike Tracking.

On one occasion, as we were poling back to Mawambi after a week's stay amongst the islands and rapids a few miles below the station, I caught sight of a spot on the bank where the thin crop of grass and plants had been eaten off that morning. On closer examination we made out the footprints of a buffalo. As it was then eight o'clock, and the beast apparently had been feeding there within the hour, he was probably not far off, so I took up the trail with one of my men behind me.

The animal, we discovered, had been lying down close by during part of the night. We found we were on an island, and followed in tracks foot by foot nearly round it before at last coming upon him. The undergrowth was scanty—in some places none at all—and I had to proceed with the utmost catlike caution, looking where to place each foot, searching for footprints; peering ahead, always on the ready, and trying to move without unnecessary action.

The secret of success in forest hunting, of getting up close to the animal one is tracking, and seeing it first, or at least before it can realise what is approaching, depends upon one's ability to get through the underwood not only silently but with stealth. Any quick movement is at once detected by an animal standing still. So also is the flick of a tail, turn of an ear, or the twitch of a squirrel's tail easily seen by the hunter, provided he himself is still. But if he is moving, every tree and stick and leaf appears to be in motion also, and the very movements he is on the look out for in the dim light are masked, as it were. A good tracker, therefore, between each step or at every convenient opportunity tries to be motionless while he gazes ahead.

After half an hour's tiptoeing work I temporarily lost the

tracks by the base of a huge tree, and foolishly allowed the man to creep in front of me to look for them. Then, without the least warning, the buffalo, which had been standing only a few feet away in deep shade behind the big tree, bolted like a rat as usual. It is astonishing how quickly they are able to get going. I had the man and the tree both in the way. The underwood was thin and I could see for a considerable distance, but before I could get in my snapshot the little beast was forty yards away and I missed him. If I had kept my place in front the shot would have been an easy one. I could even have got in a second. This is only one case amongst many similar ones. If one has acquired sufficient skill in following the tracks it is better to keep in front when getting close up. I know of no hunting, unless perhaps when with okapi or elephant, which requires more concentration. To look for the tracks, watch one's footsteps, search ahead, control one's movements and be ready on the instant, produces such a state of painful tension if continued for any length of time that one may have to rest awhile or give it up.

A Narrow Escape.

Near the outskirts of the Ituri forest on the Semliki side I left camp one morning soon after dawn, with a little pygmy tracker, intent on getting buffalo. Fresh tracks were discovered and we set to work to follow them, in high forest and tangled thicket, along stream beds and through patches of noisy giant-leafed *Phrynium*. Two hours went by, and then in dense underwood up jumped a buffalo from the cosy place he had chosen and bolted, giving me just time for a snapshot and leaving a blood trail. For hours it seemed we followed that trail slowly and carefully so as not to be taken unawares.

The wounded beast seemed to have picked his way intentionally through the very thickest places, and much of the time I was on my hands and knees. At last towards midday the trail led us into a dip with a stream at the bottom, and my little tracker listening intently signed to me that we were at close quarters again. A few feet further, foot by foot, and I heard an ear flap, then discovered the animal fifteen feet below me lying down in the shallow water.

I had exhausted my supply of soft-nosed cartridges, and was using that day nickle-ended ones with the tips chopped off, by no means safe things with buffalo. After waiting some time in the hope that he might get on to his legs, I aimed at what I judged would be his spine, in the middle line behind the shoulders, but the bullet failed to kill or cripple him owing to the curve of the back. In an instant he was on his feet and up the bank, receiving the contents of my second barrel full in his chest as he came. With a vicious shake of his head he somehow managed to knock the rifle out of my hands, and we all three—rifle, buffalo and myself—slid down the bank together into the water, myself holding on to the animal's horns with both hands. Even then he was not done for, but instead of paying further attention to me fortunately, he made three bounds into the tangled undergrowth and fell dead.

Noticing later that on the carcase there was an unusual assortment of flies, including a handsome *Tabanus* that I had not seen before, I sent my tracker to fetch men from camp to do the skinning and carry in the meat, it being then fairly late, while I remained to secure some of the flies. There were three species of tsetse—*palpalis*, *fusca*, and another; three species of *Tabanidæ*, besides *stomoxys*, and others. In half an hour, having made quite a collection, I set to work on the skin, marked out all the cuts with my knife, and then, leaving the work to be done by the men when they arrived, I made my way to camp, following the trail of my little forester, blazed all the way by breaking or bending down twigs, and by dropping leaves here and there at turnings.

Discomforts of Forest Hunting.

Hunting the wily little buffalo in these great forests is not a form of sport likely to appeal to many, for the gaining of sufficient forest-craft requires months of hard experience, and is very difficult to acquire without the aid of the little forest pygmy people, whose friendship and goodwill is by no means easy to obtain. The annoyances, risks and hardships, moreover, are great. Of annoyances, ticks are not the least. Buffaloes carry innumerable ticks—dark red ones with white

spots—in and about the ears and thin-skinned under-parts. On old animals in poor condition one may see masses of them covering areas as large as one's hand, and during skinning operations one gets simply covered with the pests. In traversing the forest, or worming one's way along the tunnels in the undergrowth made by the buffaloes, the merest touch of some harmless-looking twig or loop of a creeper, which happens to be so placed that it scrapes along the back of every passing beast, is sufficient to transfer to one's person hundreds of minute larval ticks. This is merely a stage or incident in the cycle of life of every tick. The female when mature falls from the animal in the pathway, and when her thousand eggs have hatched, the one problem of all the little ticks is how to catch on to a buffalo. This they proceed to solve, as the outcome of some intuition, by climbing to the nearest likely stick and initiating a waiting policy. If a hunter comes along first it is his business. The little vermin find their way to every part of one's anatomy, and if steps are not taken to remove them they give rise to serious annoyance and often intractable sores. Fortunately, a plentiful lather of carbolic soap (1 in 20) left on after the evening bath is both prevention and remedy.

In spite of the many discomforts, risks and hardships of those days up and down the Ituri river after fierce little pygmy buffalo, only recollections of keenest pleasure and excitement are left in my memory. The skill of the men poling up the rapids, the dangers of going down again, the glorious and ever-changing scenery of the wonderful river, and the camp life on the picturesque islands, once seen, once experienced, can never be forgotten.

CUTHBERT CHRISTY.

UGANDA AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS¹

PART II

Burial Customs.

IN burial customs there will be found as great variations as in marriage, indeed, I think, even greater.

In Buganda, where the sovereign owned all the land, it was customary for each clan to have its own burial-ground, and that ground was the freehold of the clan, their claim being the only one which the king admitted to be legal, and even he would not dare to interfere with such property. A burial-ground was constituted by the burial of some four generations in one estate, and it was therefore the duty of a chief never to allow any family to bury their dead anywhere but in their clan burial-ground. It was a duty laid upon the members of a clan to see to the burial of their dead, and any man knew he was sure of burial if there were any of the relatives in the vicinity when he died. It was imperative on clan members to nurse a sick person, and after death to see to the burial on pain of being tormented by the ghost. To touch the bones of the dead or to meddle with the graves would bring the wrath of the ghost upon the intruder, for these grounds were sacred. When Baganda were given estates under the British Land Tenure and their old customs were broken, there was trouble between clans, and even to-day, after some fifteen years, these quarrels have not been healed, for some of the more influential men disregarded the old rules and wrought desecration by appropriating the sacred burial-grounds of clans which before they would not have dared to touch.

In Bunyoro and in Ankole the customs among the pastoral people were closely allied, because it was usual to bury the dead in the dung-heap and not in the earth at all; when the heap was small and it was impossible for the man to be buried in it, he might be buried under it in the earth, or the body might

¹ This paper was delivered at a Meeting of the Society held on 14th December, 1922, and the present contribution is the continuation of Part I, published in the last issue of the JOURNAL. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see January issue, p. 148.

be cast out into some waste place for the wild beasts to devour, but this was avoided if possible. The agricultural people buried their dead, but did not trouble where the grave was dug, and after the body was disposed of, the grave was forgotten. In both Bunyoro and Ankole we note that the body after death was not cared for or remembered; it was only the ghost that they considered, and the shrine they built for it either in the house or near it was sacred. There was, therefore, little danger of hurting the susceptibilities of friends by anything done to a dead body, but to destroy a shrine was a serious matter.

Among the Bagesu on Mount Elgon, and some of the tribes bordering on the Victoria Nile, we find no burial-places at all; the people say that the dead are cast out at dusk for the wild beasts. Sacred jackals are said to devour the bodies. As a matter of fact we know that it is the custom for the near relatives to come together for a few days of mourning, during which the chief ceremony is to eat the dead. This is not because the flesh is looked upon as a delicate feast, but the idea is rather that of a ceremony to release the ghost from the world, for should this be neglected or the body be buried, the ghost will be bound to the place, and in retaliation will cause trouble, sickness, and possibly death to the family, especially to the children. Hence it is the duty of the relatives to see that the body of the dead is thus disposed of and not buried or allowed to decay. This I believe to be the origin of the cannibalism which has become so widespread among certain tribes from Mount Elgon and round the western side of Lake Albert and into West Africa.

On Mount Elgon stones are often put under the projecting roof of the hut near the door, as ghost stones, and these are sacred. To remove them or to put them to any common use is regarded with horror and may cause trouble.

Inheritance.

Following upon death comes the natural question of the disposal of the property of the dead person. In Buganda the question was settled by the clan and not by the individual, even when he was successful in life and had some wish respecting

his children. A man might say before his death that he wished a certain son to inherit, and he might call witnesses to support his dying wish, but it remained with the elders of the clan to settle the question of the heir after the man was dead and before he could be buried or the mourning be ended. The son might be the person elected, but more often another member of the clan was chosen and took possession of the place and property. This is following more closely the true ideas of communism, for even the children of a man were not his own but belonged to the clan, and he could be punished if he was not careful about the child he begat. Should a man become the father of a child to some unmarried woman, the members of his clan had a real interest in the child, while the relatives of the woman were concerned about her, and each clan had to settle the matter in its own interests. The problem was not one of proving the legitimacy of the child, that is, whether it was born in wedlock, but of discovering the person of the father. The child when proved to be the son of a certain man was a member of that man's clan, whether born in wedlock or not, and had a right to inherit property and to enjoy rights and privileges in that clan. When its legitimacy as a son of a clan-member was proved, other rights could not be denied.

In Bunyoro fatherhood was more difficult to decide, but there it mattered little to discover the actual father of the child so long as he was a member of the clan of the mother's husband. Under the communistic principle, this was all that was required for legitimacy. Usually the eldest son of the deceased was accepted as heir to property unless he was disqualified through some failure in character or some physical defect. Property both in Buganda and in Bunyoro consisted mainly of cattle, widows and land. The heir took the chief portion, while the head, or father, as he was called, of the clan, placed the heir in possession of his share of the property and divided up the remainder according to known rules. A widow was always free to return to her own people if some relative would refund the amount of the marriage fee which had been paid for her. Failing that she was disposed of as property and remained the wife of the man to whom she was allotted. It was no uncommon thing in Buganda for a wife who knew

that her husband was dying to steal his property and convey it to some friend for safe-keeping. This she would afterwards use for her own benefit when she knew how she was to be disposed of. Both in Buganda and Bunyoro it required the sanction of the king before a man could take possession of land which he inherited, because the land was not freehold property of the clan. Hence the king had the right to accept or to refuse the man presented to him by the clan as heir to any property or office, but, though he might reject the particular person put forward, he seldom put a man from another clan into the office.

In Ankole there was a different custom, because, as I have said, property was regarded as consisting of cattle and seldom of land. Hence when a man died the son, usually the eldest, succeeded, but he had to obtain the king's consent to retain the cattle, just as in Buganda the man obtained the right to succeed to some office which entailed a district or sub-district. A widow became the wife of the brother of the deceased, and should there have been no son born before his death, the first male child born to the widow thereafter became the heir to the cattle of the dead man. There is an interesting purificatory rite which takes place in Ankole. After the death ceremonies, and before the heir takes full possession of property, he must bring his sister to purify him and the cattle and goods he inherits. This sister is, when possible, a daughter of the dead man, but should there be no daughter a clan-sister performs the office. In payment she takes a portion of the property, a singular fact considering that women as a rule do not possess property. To ensure that the cattle thus inherited do not go to her husband, she is not allowed to remove them from her brother's keeping unless she has a son, to whom the animals go when she dies.

Taxation.

The most perfect system of taxation was found in Buganda, where a regular tax was levied by the king on the whole country through the chiefs. Each year special men were appointed by the king to go to collect this tax, and the office of collector was coveted because the men who went had considerable

power, and might far exceed in their demands the amount required by the king. Chiefs and people were forced to pay the amount asked because of the difficulty of obtaining justice. The office-bearer was called Kabaka, that is, he took the title of his master the king for the time being, and had to be treated as such. No chief dare offend him or offer him an inferior hut to reside in during his stay in the district; he had to be housed, fed, and treated as though he were a prince. The duty of this representative was first to discover the number of huts, the number of people, and, as far as possible, the number of cows in a district. Having obtained these figures he set to work to arrange the collection of his tax. The district chiefs and his sub-chiefs sat day after day with the collector arranging how much each chief was to bring until the whole district was mapped out. The various chiefs had to gather the tax from the individuals, and cattle, goats, sheep, bark-cloths, hoes, salt and cowry-shells were collected in the most methodical manner. When all was ready the tax-collector with his retinue and the district chief set out to convey it to the capital. When the king with his ministers had examined what was brought, a portion was handed back to the district chief as the share belonging to him and his sub-chiefs, which was regarded as their rent; a portion was also given to the prime minister as his share, while the remainder was carried into the royal store.

There was a tax of people levied yearly, for the king would send to the parents of boys or girls whenever he heard of any who were suitable for his purposes. In Buganda the king took some of the girls thus obtained for his harem, while the remainder became handmaids to his wives and the boys became his servants or pages. There was a food tax levied on certain serfs belonging to the royal staff, which will be described later under the heading of labour.

In Bunyoro and in Ankole taxation of the chiefs was in cattle only. There was an annual collection, when the king sent and took from the herds a portion according to the number of the cows a man had. The agricultural people had no fixed sum assessed in lieu of rent, but they took beer and grain at intervals as they thought fit to the chief in whose district they lived. Salt, hoes, and bark-cloths, with pots and wooden vessels for use in the dairy and among the cattle, were also

supplied by them, but in each instance there was no sum specified. Thus taxation was really undeveloped among these pastoral people apart from the cattle and women for the king of Bunyoro. He did not follow the custom of the king of Buganda in the taxation of girls, but had his own women spies who told him where the best girls were to be found, and he sent for them when he wished. The people could not refuse to send their daughters to him to become his wives or to be relegated to the service of some of his wives. Boys were also taken to become pages in his court, and these were easily found because it usually meant promotion and wealth to them.

Among the Nilotic tribes there was no regular taxation, but each harvest time it was customary for men to send to the head of the village a basket of grain, the quantity being as the individual decided he could afford from his harvest.

Labour.

The only place under these primitive governments where special labour was imposed was in Buganda, where there was a defined system for chiefs to follow. There were two kinds of labour, state and private. State labour consisted of building houses in the royal court, building the royal fence and making the roads running from the capital to the country residences of the various chiefs, which included bridges over rivers and swamps. Each district chief was responsible for a number of houses in the royal enclosure, which he had to build and to keep in repair, and it was the duty of the prime minister to see that the chief in question obeyed the order to come and build or to repair the house. The fence which enclosed the royal residence was divided out according to the chieftainships of Buganda, and each chief was responsible for a measured space. In this work, as also in road-making or repairing, there was always a man appointed as head by the king or chief minister, and he, while dealing with state work, took the name of the king or chief minister. Under him were the representatives of each chief or sub-chief, and they had to tell this headman how many workers they meant to supply. When building a large house in the royal court, as many as two hundred men were employed, but they were drawn from every part of the district, so that the leading chief was not directly responsible

for more than ten men, and the rest were supplied by his various sub-chiefs. It always took a long time to settle these matters, and no workman was allowed to begin his work until he had paid a dole, either in the form of a goat or, more usually, a quantity of beer and a few bunches of plantains, to the headman. If he did not pay this or its equivalent in some other form within the allotted time he was fined for not doing his work, and men at times became heavily indebted and even pawned a wife or child to the headman in order to be allowed to begin work and not increase their debt by extra fines. The individual workmen had to supply the materials when building a house, such as reeds or elephant grass, cleaned and sorted according to the required thicknesses, and bark for stitching these on to the framework. The large poles for supporting the building were brought by the workmen together. When any bad work was done, the headman fined the person responsible, and had the work cut out, and should the house be delayed through this, the workman was again fined for the general delay. In road-making or repairing each responsible chief of the district had to provide workmen and materials for the task; the chief also placed a man over his workmen, and this man was responsible to the headman for the work done and the quality of it.

The system sounds harsh both upon the chiefs and the workmen, and in some cases they did suffer, but on the whole it worked well, and as a rule there was really little hardship in it. Men were called upon perhaps for a month's work in the year for state work, and the task was never very laborious. If a man was sick or for some reason unable to carry out his allotted task, he could secure a friend or relative as substitute, and if the place was filled no one questioned his absence. One custom which was usual in this work, and often perplexed administrators, was the use of names; a man who was representing his master took his master's title and was not known by his real name. Thus one would find as the chief minister a ragged, worthless-looking individual who retained this title even should the real chief minister be present. Cases when such a headman has defrauded his men and been accused to an officer have resulted in the punishment of the real chief whose title the man was using.

The system of labour taxation made chiefs keen to have as many retainers as possible, and a chief who was unpopular with his serfs would not be able to keep upon his estate the number necessary for his share of the work, with the result that, when state labour was demanded, he had too few men to accomplish his task and therefore came to grief with the king, who first fined him for not doing his work and then deposed him if he still failed.

State labour or a labour tax was unknown in any other province of Uganda, so far as I am aware. Chiefs had their peasants and got them to help in building, but it was not compulsory, and any man who did not wish to work would simply refuse, walk away and go to live in some other part of the country with another chief without fear of punishment. In Buganda this shirking of labour was difficult, for though men tried to evade work and often slipped away to some other master when they thought work was to be done, they would soon be discovered and marked by the chiefs and trapped in some way or another. There was greater difficulty in evading work in the old days before the land was opened up by British rule, for then a man could not go into another country without risk to life, and, even if he survived, the change was so great that most preferred to remain in their own land and work. The railway, however, has now opened up countries to the coast, and the British Government has made it possible for men to escape taxation by fleeing into other countries and into out-of-the-way places.

In other lands men have never been required to work for more than their small amount of food, of which the women have been the chief producers. Many of these men and families required no clothing, so that the necessary work was reduced to a minimum, and now to be taxed or called upon for labour is obnoxious to them. The only sure remedy that occurs to me is that new requirements should be introduced by education, and that the harsh methods some settlers would adopt to force men to come and do the work they require should be abolished. The methods of education may be slow, but by that means we may get the right spirit and the willing co-operation of the native, which is what is required.

JOHN ROSCOE.

THE DRUM LANGUAGE OF WEST AFRICA¹

PART I

THERE is, I believe, scarcely any other West African art or custom that has aroused more widespread wonder and curiosity, nor any concerning which such almost universal misconception still prevails, as that connected with the wonderful West African Drum language.

I first became interested in this fascinating subject many years ago. At that time it was generally known that the Ashantis, in common with certain other West Coast peoples, were able to convey messages over great distances and in an incredibly short space of time by means of drums, and it was thought that their system was based upon some such method as that with which Europeans are familiar in the Morse code.

A brief investigation of the subject, which was embodied in an article, from which an extract is here quoted, while proving, I think, that our preconceived ideas concerning this art were erroneous, did not go either deeply or scientifically into the question.

The extract referred to is here given :

" A great deal is heard in Africa about the wonderful way in which news can be passed over great distances in an incredibly short space of time. It has been reported that the news of the fall of Khartoum was known among the natives of Sierra Leone the same day, and other equally wonderful instances are quoted to show that the native has some extraordinarily rapid means of communicating important events. It must, however, be remembered that most of the instances one hears quoted are incapable of verification, and would, moreover, probably be found to have been much exaggerated. Having said as much, however, it must be admitted that these people have a means of intercommunication which often inspires wonder and curiosity on the part of Europeans.

¹ This paper (illustrated by phonographic records) was read at a Meeting of the Society held at the Royal Society of Arts on March 21st, 1923, when Sir Lawrence Wallace occupied the Chair. The report of this Meeting will be published in the July issue of the JOURNAL. As explained by Captain Rattray at the Meeting, the paper mainly consists of extracts from a chapter of his forthcoming book *Ashanti*, which will shortly be published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

"One such means of communication is by drumming.

"This idea the European will readily grasp, and being familiar with various means of *signalling*, will suppose that some such method might be adapted to drums; but among the Ashantis the drum is not used as a means of *signalling* in the sense that we would infer, that is, by rapping out words by means of a prearranged code, but (to the native mind) is used to sound or speak the actual words.

"Thus we have drum-talking as distinct from drum-signalling, a tympanophonetic as opposed to a tympanosemantic means of communication.

"Tympanophony or drum-talking is an attempt to imitate by means of two drums (a 'male' and a 'female'), set in different keys, the exact sound of words of the human voice." (From *Ashanti Proverbs*, pp. 133-134.)

This statement, written nearly a decade ago, and the terminology I then employed, still stand the test of time and of a much minuter investigation of the subject, but it remains to prove, if possible, how "two drums set in different keys" could possibly be heard as, or made to reproduce, actual spoken words.

In this paper an attempt will be made to explain this apparently ventriloquistic feat, and to prove that in its local language environment, with certain well-defined limitations, not only is such a thing possible but that it is linguistically and phonetically natural.

An account will also be given of the appliances used—the drums—containing a description of how they are made, and of the religious observances inseparable from the (to us very prosaic) process of cutting down a tree and hollowing out the wood.

Finally, a selection from one of the "set pieces" will be given in full, containing first the usual overture or prelude common to all drum pieces, and going on to relate the history, in chronological order, of one of the most important Ashanti divisions.

This piece is in itself a very wonderful storehouse of anthropological material, which, from its very nature, has remained untouched and unspoiled by civilisation.

A complete series of phonographic records has been made of this particular drum-history, and these will be available for future detailed examination.¹

¹ I am doubtful, however, if the phonograph will prove to be a very good medium for producing drum sound waves.

Ashanti drummers are able, I find, readily to read records, only if they have themselves made them. In other cases they find much difficulty.

In order the better to understand my subject, lessons in drumming have been taken from some of the experts. What is here recorded is, therefore, based upon an elementary practical knowledge of the subject.

For our present purpose it will be necessary to make what may, at first sight, appear an unnecessary excursion into the realms of phonetics and of scientific philology.

These sciences, however, hold the key which alone can unlock the secrets of the Ashanti Drum language, which without their help must always have remained an obscure and little understood art.

It is, therefore, appropriate that I should here acknowledge the great debt I owe to the late Rev. J. G. Christaller, German student and missionary, who was the first, many years ago, to draw attention to "tones" in the Ashanti language.¹ It is due to his wonderfully painstaking researches into the phonetics in this language that I am able to draw upon material which he collected in his Ashanti Grammar, and thus to produce the necessary scientific evidence to prove that in the extraordinary phenomenon of "Tonic" languages lies, I am convinced, the explanation of the Ashanti Drum language.

To say that Ashanti is a "tonic" language is not, I am afraid, to make the matter much clearer for those unfamiliar with what this nomenclature implies, and it will be necessary to go into the matter in some little detail if what is here recorded is fully to be understood.

We are all familiar, I think, with the use of tones in our own language, where they are chiefly employed as a means of oratorical or emotional expression, or to give to a word or sentence a shade of meaning which that word or sentence would lack if merely written down in "cold" print, or spoken without that musical intonation which alone raises words from the mere plane of conventional articulatory sounds.

¹ These tones had already been noted in Ewe by the German missionary Schelegel and by Professor Westermarck, and yet another German scholar had noted them in a language of the Cameroons, all, be it noted, localities in which the Drum language is known to exist. I am also much indebted to a remarkable book by Carl Meinhof, *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*, made available for the use of English students by Miss Werner's scholarly translation; and to the late Sir Edward Tylor's classic *Primitive Culture*.

This use of intonation, tone, or pitch in languages with which we are familiar is, however, really only known to us as being a useful adjunct by which shades of meaning may be imparted to a certain word, or, if used in a sentence, to prepare us for some additional grammatical phrase.

Examples will make my meaning clearer. "Yes" and "No" are capable of a variety of meanings according to the intonation, running, from the accepted dictionary meaning of an affirmative and a negative, through a whole gamut of sense-modifications until almost verging into an *undecided negative* and a *credulous positive* respectively.

Leaving words and coming to sentences, we find, again, that we are considerably dependent on tone for our preparation in thought of what is to follow, or our perception that what has been said closes a particular sentence; *e. g.* "I am going," spoken with a falling intonation makes us accept the statement as being more or less complete, but if we pitch the voice one-third on the last word, our ear has immediately prepared us for something else, which is possibly a clause in adversative or copulative co-ordination, *i. e.* a "but" or an "and" clause to follow.

It is natural perhaps, therefore, that when we talk of Ashanti as being "a language of tones," or a "tonic" language, we should suppose it uses the tones which have just been described in the sense and manner in which we are familiar; when it is stated that this is far from being the case, and that tones in the above context simply do not exist in Ashanti, I think we will begin to realise that we are here "up against" something which is new to many of us.

In Ashanti every syllable, in every word, has assigned to it more or less arbitrary tone or musical pitch. These tones do not depend upon the will or caprice of the speaker, and are not employed for emotional, oratorical, or grammatical purposes, but are a basic element in the language upon which depend the correct and intelligible pronunciation of a particular word; not only is this so, but the alteration of tone in two words otherwise spelled exactly alike may change, not as in English, the *shade of meaning* of that particular word, but alter the actual "*dictionary*" meaning.

To give a very exaggerated example, it is very much as if

the word "box" in English had two tones, one rising, one falling, and that "box" with the rising tone meant "box," but "box" with the falling tone meant "cow."

A list of Ashanti words will presently be given in which this alteration in the tone of a syllable is shown to alter the meaning of the word entirely. Before passing on to an examination of tones in Ashanti, however, it is necessary to discuss some other important factors which in addition to "tones" go to make up the elements of any spoken language. All these have, some in a greater, others in a lesser degree, a direct bearing upon the subject now under examination.

These remaining factors are—(a) Accent, on a particular syllable; (b) stress or emphasis, on a particular word; (c) gesture (of hands, arms, or feet); (d) facial gesture; (e) pauses, stops, or punctuation; (f) duration of words or sentences, *i. e.* speed at which spoken.

We find all these in our own language, and with one exception all are also to be noted in Ashanti. Just as it was found, however, that though tones are common to both English and Ashanti, they are in each language made to serve a fundamentally different purpose, so with some of the above an important distinction exists in the rules which govern their application.

I shall take "accent" first, meaning by this term the accentuation of a particular syllable in a word (as distinct from "stress" or "emphasis," which is here used of words).

If, under this heading, we consider our own language, we will find, I think, that accent is the most important factor in deciding the correct pronunciation of a word.

That is to say, accent in English occupies the position assigned to tones in Ashanti concerning which it has just been written that they are "an element in the language upon which depends the correct and intelligible pronunciation of a word."

Accentuation of syllables is found in Ashanti, but is of lesser importance; moreover, it is dependent on and governed by totally different causes.

In our own language accentuation of syllables seems chiefly to depend on the *etymology* of a word, the accent being placed on the root or stem, *e. g.* exceptionable.

In Ashanti the accent is generally dependent, as will be seen later, *on the succeeding tone*. In other words, we have a cause which is *phonetical* as opposed to one which is *etymological*.

Yet another example, showing how in our own language accent largely takes upon itself the functions of "tones" in Ashanti, is to be seen in those English words in which accent alters a word's meaning, just as we have seen "tone" doing in Ashanti—*e. g.* áccent the noun, accént the verb, prótest the noun, protést the verb. This use of accent is unknown to Ashanti.

Stress or emphasis on a particular word in a sentence.—In our language we have yet another kind of accent, which, to distinguish it from the last, I have called "stress" or "emphasis."

It is that laid upon a particular word in a sentence. "I am going to-morrow" may be emphasised in four different ways, according as the speaker wishes to lay stress upon the "I," the "am," the "going," or the "to-morrow."

This form of accent, I believe, will be found non-existent in Ashanti, for this reason. Accent, as stated, being dependent in Ashanti on tone, if we alter the accent, we are altering the tone and so making a word either unintelligible or else so completely altering its meaning as to make the sentence nonsensical.¹

The place of emphasis is, I think, taken in Ashanti by the *loudness* with which a word is spoken, and this at once carries us by a natural step to our next headings, (c) and (d) which are "*gesture*," by the use of the hands, arms, or facial muscles.

As we all know, the African is a past master in the use of gesticulations—though his gestures are not very varied, and if watched for some time become monotonous.

It may at first sight appear totally irrelevant to the subject of drum-talking to touch upon this adjunct of the spoken

¹ If this hypothesis be correct, then if followed to its logical conclusion it would appear that when we set a libretto in Ashanti to a European score, we must jumble the whole sense of the words and render them either meaningless or ridiculous. I have been informed by Africans that this is really the case, and that when children sing in schools in their own language, but set to our music, what they sing is unintelligible to the outsider, and often to the singers must appear ridiculous.

language, for it may be argued that it cannot possibly find a place in the former means of communication.

Nevertheless I think it is one of the factors which, indirectly at any rate, help towards contributing to this attempted approximation of human speech.

Gesture, the waving of the arms, the bringing down of the hands with a bang, etc., are really movements synchronised with the voice, the latter being but the vocal representation or echo of the former.

Thus gesture may be indirectly reproduced in drumming by the loudness or softness with which the drum is beaten. (I shall go presently into more detail as to how all these elements here described are reproduced upon the drum.)

The next heading is "Stops" or "Pauses," or, as they are commonly known, "punctuation."

On a careful analysis of any of the phonograph cylinders it will at once strike the listener that the whole series is divided into groups of tones, with clearly defined stops at varying intervals. These exactly correspond with our punctuation marks in writing or our pauses in speech.

I have noted that these group periods form one of the important aids which help a drummer to pick up a message.

Speed.—Its use is quite obvious and need not here be enlarged upon. Tones, accent, stress, loudness (gesture), periods or stops and speed, have now all been briefly examined in turn. All these elements, when combined and reproduced upon drums, in the manner to be described presently, produce, by the combined rhythm, musical intonation and melody, something which gives us *euphony*, or a form of music which is almost capable of being classed in the category of linguistics, or, in other words, is looked upon, heard, and understood by those familiar with it, as being only a modification of their own spoken tongue.

In my chapter dealing with the Drum language I here pass on to a detailed examination of tones in Ashanti, but the time now at my disposal does not allow me to deal with this most important point in this lecture; and the next question to be examined is the manner in which these various elements, tone, accent, gesture, loudness or softness, number of syllables,

pauses and stops are actually put into practice in drumming, and the possibilities and limitations in their application.

Tones.—The nature of vowel sounds is well known, and these have actually been defined as “musical tones”—all know how important they are in singing. Ashanti abounds in vowel sounds; there are no less than ten principal vowels, and as these may be long or short, pure or nasal, their number becomes very great. The language, therefore, should be an ideal one in which to sing, from our point of view, and also, as we shall see presently, from the drummer's.

Granted then that a vowel is a musical tone, and dividing tones in this context, broadly into “high” and “low,” we have at once, on two drums, one with a low, the other with a high tone, a possible, if somewhat a rough-and-ready way of reproducing vowel sounds.

But besides vowel sounds, however much a language may have specialised in these, consonants must also exist to hang these vowels upon. For a long time I could not see that there was any possibility whatsoever, or any attempt made, to reproduce on the drums sounds approximating to consonants.

When we come to examine Ashanti talking drums themselves, it will be noticed that a small piece of iron called *akasa* is attached to the male drum on the tense membrane, to which it is fastened.

This bit of iron jingle-jangles and forms a harsh, discordant note which runs intermittently through the more musical tones with which it mingles.

I have repeatedly asked drummers why they used this bit of iron, and the answer always is, that the drums will not “speak well” without it. Its very name means, literally, “the little speaker.”

I believe that this discordant and harsher note very roughly approximates to consonantal sounds, which must be reproduced, as they are as essential to speech as unessential and unsought for in music.

The drum “does not talk well without it,” the Ashanti drummer says, and at the present stage of these preliminary investigations we must leave it at that, but the point is one well worth noting for future scientific investigation.

Thus far then we have proved, I think, that, broadly speak-

ing, vowels with low tones or high tones or any combination of these may be reproduced on our two drums, together with a jarring note contributed by the *akāsā*, which possibly suggests the sounds of consonants.

Next, there is obviously no difficulty about reproducing the correct numbers of syllables in a word, or in any group of words, e. g. we have this sentence in Ashanti : A-ko-ko- bon a-nq-pa, where there are seven syllables; so putting in the tones we have the following scheme : Low, high, high, low, low, low, low,

or, writing according to the method suggested, a-ko-ko ^{m f f m} bon
m m m
a-nq-pa.

The next element we have to impart is the correct accent; this is easily done, in fact the drum-sticks, in hands which naturally in speaking have followed the accent, will almost unconsciously impart that accent to the correct syllables. Thus the fourth syllable, " bon," will be slightly accented, and also the last but one, " nq."

Next come the punctuation and stops. First of all there is an almost infinitesimal pause between each syllable, and a slightly longer one after a-ko-ko. These can easily be accurately reproduced by the drummers.

The next point to which I wish to draw attention is, I believe, a very important one in connection with the Drum language. It may be summed up in the statement that I believe there are still indications that Ashanti is, or has been, a holophrastic language, as perhaps all unwritten languages tend to be.

Examples will make my meaning clear. A student in this language, who is working with a native teacher, must often have been struck with the latter's apparent inability at times to grasp what is said or meant, when, instead of a sentence, a single word—a noun, an adjective, or verb root, etc.—is taken out of a sentence and spoken alone.

The student may seem to pronounce the word absolutely correctly, but so far from imparting any meaning to his listener, he might as well be speaking a word in some foreign language. If the same word is now taken and put in a sentence or phrase, the native teacher will at once seem to hear and understand it.

That is, the Ashanti does not readily grasp the sounds of words as isolated parts of speech (as we have learned to do owing to our knowledge of grammar, of which we have made a special study), but only takes cognisance of them when they become part of a phrase or sentence *which he hears, as it were, as a familiar combination of sounds*, to which, when broken up and isolated into their component sounds, he has difficulty in regulating their significance.

To learn to write would seem to be the great solvent of this difficulty, for it is only among the illiterate that I have noticed this peculiarity.

Writing down separately the parts of speech, and grammatical analysis, alone give words their own individuality. Among peoples who know nothing of writing or grammar, a word *per se*, cut out of its sound group, seems almost to cease to be an intelligible articulation. Another reason for this difficulty to comprehend separate words may possibly be that the tones of words as part of the sentence and as standing alone or unconnected are, as has been noted, generally different. Both causes are perhaps contributory to this phenomenon which undoubtedly exists.

This peculiarity of the holophrase supplies, I believe, yet another factor which helps out the drums in their attempted approximation of human speech. The drummer is not so much concerned with the individual letters of syllables—he knows nothing of either—but hears a musical phrase, as it were, in which, if he misses a note here and there, *i. e.* a syllable, the context which he would have grasped assists him in the deciphering of the whole.

This recognised linguistic melody which he hears is composed of sounds and stops approximating to—(1) high and low vowel sounds; (2) consonants; (3) the exact number of required syllables.

The whole is punctuated and accented as accurately as could be done in print.

Granted then that Ashanti has musical tones, and granted that tones, accent, loudness, softness, stops, etc., in a sentence all go towards the production of a kind of linguistic music, then in any particular holophrase we have, as it were, a bar of music.

If we hear a bar of music repeated we soon become familiar with it, and in an exactly similar manner do these Ashanti drummers become familiar with the common phrases and "set pieces" which form the repertoire of the drummers' stock in trade, and very soon even to a foreigner who has learned these pieces the drums begin *to talk*.

I think that in what has now been described (imperfectly and inadequately as I have performed a task which it must be left to the scholars versed in phonetics to pursue) lies the secret of this truly wonderful invention, an invention compared with which our own Morse code is simplicity itself.

I do not think it has ever been recognised properly either how wonderful or how worthy of our fosterage the Drum language really is. This has been chiefly because the principles upon which it is based were misunderstood, and even when recognised seem strange and foreign to most of us, and because we have not perhaps realised what good purpose it served.

It is only by a process of synthesis, such as has been adopted in this paper, that we begin to realise that an untutored African people have grasped and adapted elements in the science of phonetics to the evolution of a very useful means of intercommunication, and one which is not only of practical utility in their daily life, but which has helped—as will be seen presently—to preserve the records of their past, thereby imparting a certain pride of race, which comes from a knowledge that they are descendants of men and women who were once great.

Such knowledge helps to make any people, whether primitive or civilised, conscious of their own nationality, and to forget wholly their past is to have to begin again, groping in the dark, until time has commenced once again to create new landmarks.

Ashanti drumming should, therefore, inspire our respect and receive our gratitude, and we should begin, I believe, to encourage, if only by a word of recognition and praise to its exponents, an art which must otherwise soon die out; and buried with it will be much of the past history of this people.

R. S. RATTRAY.

(*To be continued.*)

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

A MEETING of the African Society was held on Tuesday, 30th January, 1923, at 5 p.m. at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, when Mr. T. Alexander Barns delivered a Lecture on "Ngorongoro, the Giant Crater; and the Gorilla, the Giant Ape," accompanied by lantern illustrations. The Right Hon. the Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G. (President of the Society), occupied the Chair.

Amongst the large audience were :—

Mr. J. Alcindor, Mrs. Bruce Anderson, Dr. Andrew Balfour, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Mr. F. B. Castellain, Mr. F. Charlesworth, Dr. J. B. Christopherson, Dr. Cuthbert Christy, Sir H. L. Galway, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Maj. C. S. Goldman, Mr. Turner Henderson, Mr. J. B. Hicks, Mrs. Hicks, Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Mr. M. J. Holland, Mr. T. B. Kitson, Maj. Maxwell Lyte, Benjamin Nxumbalo (Swazi Chief), Mrs. D. O'Connell, Lt.-Col. J. J. O'Sullivan, D.S.O., Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, Capt. C. L. Reid, Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., Maj. R. E. Critchley-Salmonson, Sir Alfred Sharpe, K.C.M.G., C.B., Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Sobuza II. (Paramount Swazi Chief), Lady Stanley, Capt. and Mrs. F. W. Taylor, Mrs. S. L. Tremayne, Mr. C. B. Ussher, Sir Lawrence Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Waterall, Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Williams, Mrs. Woodward.

The *Chairman* said : Ladies and Gentlemen, it is not the custom of the President of the Society to say anything in introducing the Lecturer, but after the Lecture we are glad to have a discussion, and if any of those here wish to take part in it we shall be very glad. At the moment I would not say any more, except to thank him heartily for coming here, and I now have the pleasure of introducing him.

Mr. Barns then delivered his Lecture, which is reported on p. 179.

At the conclusion of the Lecture the *Chairman* said : I will ask Sir Alfred Sharpe to say a few words.

Sir Alfred Sharpe said : Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think it needs any words from me to say how very interested I was myself, and I am sure you all were, in Mr. Barns's paper. Of course it deals with two of the most interesting parts of the whole of Central Africa. I do not know the great crater country, but I know fairly

well the "gorilla country," although I never saw any gorillas myself. But it appears to me that in both these countries there is a tremendous opportunity for further exploration, especially perhaps in the crater country, which is not known so well as the Kivu country, but in both those countries there is a great opportunity for scientific exploration in connection with volcanic agency and natural history. For instance, it seems quite possible that there may be underground water communication between Lake Kivu and Lake Edward. I think we might very well spend a good deal of money in exploring there. I was glad to hear that Sir Charles Ross had been able to acquire the greater part of the Ngorongoro Crater, because it is a natural preserve for game, and I feel quite sure that a man like Sir Charles Ross, who is a sportsman by instinct, will see that the crater always remains full of game. I thank Mr. Barns in my own name and in yours for a most interesting paper and especially for the beautiful photographs we have seen. (Applause.)

Major R. E. Critchley-Salmonson said : My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like, in the first instance, to congratulate the Lecturer on the very excellent photographs which it has been our privilege to see this evening.

To my mind, and, as I believe, to that of Captain Philipps, who lectured on the Birunga volcanoes before the Royal Geographical Society last night, the Kigezi District and its neighbourhood is the most beautiful and fascinating part of Africa.

I thoroughly agree with Sir Alfred Sharpe as to the need for further scientific examination of that country, not only as regards its physical features and the volcanoes, but also from the point of view of its game.

The Lecturer has told us this evening about the gorilla, an animal which, until a few years ago, was not known to exist there. Captain Philipps can tell you of a large carnivorous cave-dwelling animal, which has not yet been identified, and I, myself, in 1911, saw and made drawings of the spoor of an antelope, certainly new to the district, which may prove to be a form of bongo.

With regard to the gorilla. As a result of observations made in the Kayonsa Forest in 1912 and 1913, I stated, in the chapter on the Kigezi District which I wrote for the Uganda Handbook, in the latter year, that they would probably be found there. I am naturally well pleased that this somewhat bold prediction has been fulfilled.

I am sorry that the Lecturer had no time to discuss the Batusi at greater length, because, to my mind, they are an exceptionally interesting race.

Neither Captain Philipps nor anyone else has been bold enough to propound any theory as to their exact origin; and I am afraid we can hardly accept their own story of Luganzu as a scientific explanation. The general opinion appears to be that they are a migration from the north-east, and that they are readily recognised, even by other natives of Africa, as having an affinity with that part of the world is exemplified by a story I was once told. A European took a Somali with him to

Ruanda. Said a proud Mtusi to the latter one day : " Why, surely we are of the same race." Said the still prouder Somali : " On the contrary, it is clear that you are a Galla dog ! "

In conclusion I should like to congratulate Mr. Barns on his most interesting lecture.

Capt. J. E. T. Philpotts said : Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, having lived in the Ruanda-Kivu area for over two years, I should like to say how very much I have appreciated the photographs and the remarks the Lecturer has just made. The time is too late to take point by point, as I should have liked, the many interesting questions he has raised, but I should like to touch on the geographical features which in this part of the world are still in process of formation. There is every reason to suppose that further eruptions may be expected at regular cycles and, in that case, it would be very interesting if at the time skilled observers could be on the spot, because it is one of the parts of the earth which is still literally in the making. As regards the gorilla : early in 1919, when I first went into British Ruanda, there was no information as to the presence of gorilla within the Empire.

No definite records existed in the British Colonies of Eastern Africa as to the existence at all of the gorilla in those parts. It is one of the few places of the earth where the larger apes can be observed not only with little danger, but also in close proximity, owing to the fact that there exist on some of the afforested hillsides extensive caves, where one can actually come up at a particular spot and observe them at close quarters without interruption. It is by this means that one has been able to approach the gorilla within a stone's throw. It is thus that one has watched them feeding, secured specimens of their diet which have been scientifically identified, and one has been able to add materially to previously existing knowledge of the more intimate habits of these scientifically valuable animals.

That is one of the reasons why one would like to see this group of volcanoes made as soon as possible into a definitely close preserve. The tendency to shoot gorillas should be ruthlessly suppressed. Mr. Barns has shot them for a Museum collection, but subsequent information shows that many of these animals have been wantonly destroyed since then, and that it is rapidly becoming the " fashion " to be able to boast that one has shot gorilla.

The gorilla is an animal which harms no man unless interfered with. It seldom leaves the uninhabited forests where it lives. It has none of the cunning either of the hunting or of the hunted beasts. It dies as easily as man when shot. There are very few families existing in these parts. They are scientifically of the highest value to the world. I trust that the Colonial Government will see its way to place the gorilla, as the Belgian Government have already done, upon the strictly prohibited schedule. But public opinion must ratify and support such action, otherwise it will have little effect in a wild district of open frontiers. It will perhaps then once again be considered, as it once was, a poor, unsporting trick to shoot monkeys. To a sportsmanlike

African audience such as you are here to-night I feel that I shall not appeal in vain.

Regarding the strange beast mentioned just now by my friend Major Critchley-Salmonson. The natives go in great fear of it, and allege that it has never been killed by man in those parts. It is described as spotted, of a blue-black colour, with large teeth, two long eye-teeth top and bottom, with ears almost invisible under masses of loose flesh. It is a cave-dweller and night-hunter. It will, they add, when passing herds of cattle, turn aside to attack the herdsmen; all of which points to an animal which is not only large in size but also unusually ferocious in character.

It is a matter of regret that a skilled entomologist like Mr. Barns should have only been able merely to pass through this interesting country. He has made such excellent use of his fleeting visit that we should have liked to have had the chance of hearing his opinions of some longer stay which we may hope for perhaps at some future date. We who have lived in Africa cannot but appreciate his painstaking and interesting work.

The Chairman said: Ladies and Gentlemen, my duty as President and Chairman is to thank Mr. Barns most heartily for his Lecture. The African Society are indebted to him for having come at all, and for having given us a Lecture, and I am quite sure that everyone here this afternoon has enormously enjoyed his Lecture, and those wonderful slides. We do thank him very heartily. I have attended many Lectures, and I do not think I have been to one more interesting in itself, and this Lecture has been the better by reason of those slides.

I cannot speak with the authority of the Lecturer or the other speakers, as I have never been to the districts in question, or much further north than Elizabethville. I will therefore not attempt to discuss the Lecture itself.

The last speaker suggested that the gorilla ought to be protected. I am a Treasurer of the Society for the Protection of Birds, and I am not quite sure that I am prepared to take over the protection of the gorilla, and certainly not of the blue spotted, man-eating animal described by Captain Philipps. (Laughter.) At the same time, I quite agree that it would be a thousand pities if hunting expeditions were sent in order to kill the gorilla; when they ought really only to be killed for scientific purposes or from the point of view of safety.

We thank you for coming here this afternoon, Mr. Barns, and assure you we have enormously enjoyed your Lecture. (Applause.)

Mr. Barns said: I am very much obliged to you for your flattering remarks. I also have heard of the animal you speak about. It is very well known: there is some such animal there.

A MEETING of the African Society was held at the Royal Society of Arts, Adelphi, on Thursday, 22nd February, when Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G. (late Senior Commissioner, Kenya

Colony), gave an interesting Lecture on "Some Native Problems in Eastern Africa." In the temporary absence of the Rt. Hon. the Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G. (President of the Society), who was detained by his Parliamentary duties, the Chair at the outset was taken by Major Blake Taylor, C.B.E., who formally introduced the Lecturer. Mr. Hobley, who was very cordially received, then delivered his Lecture, which is reported on p. 189. During the Lecture Earl Buxton arrived, and the Chair was vacated in his favour.

Amongst those present were :—

Miss P. M. Godman, Mrs. Hobley, Sir Humphrey Leggett, D.S.O., R.E., Lady Leggett, Major J. M. Maxwell Lyte, Sir Francis C. Newton, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Mr. W. McGregor Ross, Major and Mrs. H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Sir Lawrence Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G.

Speaking at the close of the Address, *Earl Buxton* said :

I have to apologise for being late. I was kept at the House of Lords, and it was impossible for me to get here earlier. Without further detaining you I will ask Sir Lawrence Wallace, who has recently returned from Rhodesia, to say a few words and open the discussion.

Sir Lawrence Wallace.—I should like to endorse what Mr. Hobley has said regarding the necessity of education for the natives, the importance of training in trades, and especially on the land; the great difficulty is the cost. This training on the land, should, I think, be a principal object of all training, for the bulk of the population must always be employed there, and, if they are to advance in civilisation, they must work, not as labourers only, but as owners working for themselves. Communal ownership of land would not stand in the way, for it does not prevent long tenure, and with a dense population and permanent crops individual ownership or some equivalent would come. To-day it is in most places absolutely contrary to the natives' idea, as it would tend to break up tribal authority. I remember how for a long time the Chief and head-men of Barotseland refused to agree to a new Order in Council simply because in one clause it stated that a native could own land.

Speaking of Northern Rhodesia, every native is anxious for education, every village clamours for a school, but the great incentive is to become a clerk and typist, at which work he becomes efficient in time but it forces him, not against his inclination, to become a town-dweller.

An incentive is needed before the native can be really made to take an interest in better methods of cultivation, and this incentive can only be the hope of profit. In places where the population is dense enough it has been already demonstrated that without too great initial expense these better methods can be taught, and the raising of profitable crops suitable for export can be established, but where the population is

sparsely distributed, the collection of small amounts of produce from widely scattered areas is too costly to leave any margin for profit, and it would be long, uphill work to interest the natives in better methods of cultivation. For his own needs his own methods suffice, only force would move him out of them—the women have much to say in this—and money spent in trying to teach and persuade him would be most of it spent in vain. Contact, however, with European farmers is gradually teaching him, and progressive natives are taking to the use of ploughs instead of hoes, are using better seed and are commencing to compete on the local markets, all of which is to the good and should be encouraged, for in it lies the first incentive towards education, and incidentally it brings the men more than the women on the land.

For this reason it is beneficial to the natives that there should be European farmers settled near them, and (still speaking of Northern Rhodesia) they recognise the benefit by the willingness with which they have agreed to the establishment of such settlements. There the Paramount Chief, in agreement with his Council, willingly agreed that farms should be allotted by the B.S.A. Company to Europeans, subject at first to his approval; later he made over the land to the Company, leaving them to arrange with settlers, but subject to the condition that no village should be moved from the land against its will. In selecting areas for settlement great care has to be taken, for even in thinly populated countries the boundaries of tribal and village lands seem to be well known. No one village can use the unoccupied land belonging to another without agreement, and for such use I have known a nominal rent in kind to be paid. Chiefs of tribes or sections of tribes can tell how they became possessed of their land, what agreements or payments were made, and they are often strongly attached to it. Therefore, when European settlement begins, it soon becomes necessary that native reserves should be established, not for the purpose of concentrating natives into arbitrarily chosen districts, but more with the idea that the areas shall be known on which Europeans will not be permitted to settle. Such reserves have not as yet been demarcated in Northern Rhodesia, but they have been studied, where European settlement is at present possible, and tentatively sketched out as something to work on, and large groups of farms have been located and occupied without friction. No natives have been moved against their will and no farm has been sold from which they object to move.

By this method farms occupied by natives are unavoidably left within the European areas, but within a few years the villagers, having worked out their lands, will want to move to new pastures within the tribal reserves, and if in the meantime, by working for the farmers, they should imbibe the desire and learn the way to grow suitable crops for profit instead of only for their own use, they and the country will reap the benefit and may not find it so difficult to provide the cost of a more systematic education.

Sir Francis Newton : I am glad to have this opportunity of being present, and I should like first of all to say how entirely I agree with

Mr. Hobley's remarks on the subject of education and politics in regard to the natives. In regard to education, I understood him to say he did not want them to be taught the higher branches of learning until they have learned what they are being taught in Rhodesia, viz. to be sensible and useful members of society. We have just started a sort of rustic college where we teach the natives to plough and hoe, to reap and sow, in the most approved methods. We have no great scientific theories, but seek to impart up-to-date knowledge on agriculture. We teach them the rudiments of cattle breeding, and artisan work such as carpentering and building their houses and tilling their land. Beyond that we do not care to go. We do not want to interfere with the higher branches of artisan work, or with clerical work. We seek to make them good members of society, so that they can teach their fellow-men how to behave and how to get on.

Reference has been made to Southern Rhodesia, which is just now getting a Constitution, in which there are stringent reservations as to native rights; legislation regarding which requires the approval of the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State. That policy has been commended as a wise provision, but it is only a continuation of the policy which has been always adopted by the Chartered Company, and approved of by High Commissioners from Lord Milner onwards, including our Chairman. That is not to keep native politics out of the ken of the local administration, but as much as possible out of the deliberations of our Council. I have been in the Council of Rhodesia since 1903, and from that time to 1920 I do not remember any contentious matter dealing with native affairs having been brought before that Council. It has invariably been dealt with outside by reference to the Administrator and the High Commissioner. That has been continued up to this time; and I hope when Kenya comes to have a Constitution, the same principle may be observed.

In regard to the question of the land, I gather in Kenya they have done as we have done, carefully set apart native reserves. I do not know whether they have been demarcated on the ground. A novel method has been suggested, viz. a document, practically a title deed, to be registered by the higher Courts of the country and handed to the tribe. I take it that possibly a better way would be to fortify such an undertaking by incorporating it in an ordinance or Order-in-Council. But the great thing is to show the native Chiefs their boundaries on the ground. They won't be able to read a document, but if you show them the boundaries, it will be as good as a written document, and they will never forget them.

The reference to education of the sons of Chiefs comes with singular aptness on a day like this. I daresay you have all seen in the papers to-day news of the death of the most distinguished native Chief and philanthropist who can be mentioned in the history of Africa, the great Chief Khama. He did a good work which will be remembered, not only amongst the missionaries and his own native circles, but throughout Africa. Wherever the English language is spoken his name will

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be honoured. One of the great things he did was to pay special attention to the training and education of his sons, and his influence in this connection was extended to his sub-chiefs. He worked for the good of his people, and his death will form a landmark in the history of that part of the world.

Sir Humphrey Leggett : May I in the first place allude to the matter of the comparatively small attendance at our meeting to-day. Against this there is some compensation, for our JOURNAL reaches an immense number, many hundreds, if not thousands, of readers throughout the world. The value of such a paper as that to which we have been privileged to listen, being printed in the JOURNAL, is that it carries to a very wide circle the ideals of the British Empire in tropical Africa—ideals that are being translated daily into action after taking practical shape in the minds of the earlier Administrators, such as our friend Mr. Hobley. A code has been laid down which is instinctively British. Men like Sir Frederick Lugard, who, I am sure, would have liked to be here to-day, and like Sir Lawrence Wallace and Sir Francis Newton, who have just spoken, had to commence their great work and to lay foundations amid a welter of savage warfare. They had to bring into tropical Africa something entirely new for the accomplishment of their ideals. Ours is not the only nation that has been engaged in the opening up of Africa. The Belgians, French and Germans were also there, and the Portuguese and Spaniards had been there long before. The German ideal, and their attitude towards the native races, differed radically from the method of ourselves, the Belgians, and the French. Well, the Germans are swept out of Africa, and it is for Africa's good. It is striking to note how the British method and ideal works out in the economic sphere. We can surely say that ethics and economics are found to be complementary, not antagonistic, to each other. The question of the reduction of native taxation referred to by Mr. Hobley is a matter of great importance to the welfare of Africa. No doubt it rouses a sympathetic echo in all of us. But for tropical Africa it is important both ethically and economically, since the larger proportion of a man's earnings that can be left to him to spend as he likes, the greater is his inducement to real advancement. And this consideration leads to the point emphasised by Mr. Hobley, viz. the right course for native education, that which raises him gradually, first in agriculture, then technical education, and aims at the making of an artisan rather than the mere exercise of mental functions. The three R's by themselves will not make a man a greater asset to himself or his country than he was before. The development of character is the all-important thing. It will be a very long time, it may be centuries, before you can bring the natives to the stage in which purely book learning will be to them an asset of any great value. I used the word "complementary" just now, and it is specially true as to the relative place of the white and the black races. There again we touch the question both ethically and economically. We must see to it that the interests of the white man and the black man are not allowed to conflict, that the black man can learn

from the white, and that the productive power of both is put to its fullest and best use for the good of both, not for one section only. That is where our plan is so different from that of the Germans.

May I say one word on the Kenya Colony Indian question referred to in the newspapers this morning. I will only touch on it in a non-political aspect. I suggest that much of the trouble to-day is due to the fact that the technical training of the African had not been taken in hand in the earlier stages of the country. The African, if trained in mechanical and technical work, is capable of doing many of the things which Indians were originally brought into the country to do. Had that training been given earlier, I do not think that the antagonism which now exists in the country, due to the comparatively large Indian immigration, would have reached anything like its present degree. I would like to put it that this question of the Indian in East Africa should be considered mainly in its relation to the native African population. After all said and done, the fact remains that Africa is the home, the heritage, and the birthright of the Africans, and I think we should handle the Indian question with that always first and foremost in our minds.

Mr. W. McGregor Ross : I am willing to admit that I came here this afternoon with a feeling of admiration for Mr. Hobley's hardihood in embarking upon so controversial a topic. I am going away admiring the degree of balance and judgment with which he has treated his subject. Upon the accuracy of his facts, I think he said very little indeed which any old resident in Africa could call in question, especially as to the serious view which the natives take of the present position with regard to their lands.

I take it that what we are witnessing in East Africa is the creation and development of a *friendly nation*. When those fine old gentlemen-adventurers, the Imperial British East Africa Company (of which Mr. Hobley was one of the officers), first went to the country, they found it in the possession of a large conglomeration of warring, or at any rate suspicious, tribes. What is emerging now is an East African nation, and there are indications that this is developing very rapidly. It must be the aim of Administrators and the object of statecraft to ensure that this shall become a *friendly* nation and not a disaffected or hostile one. Only so can it be expected that the natives will continue to live on terms of amity with the white settlers who are occupying the large vacant spaces there, in the adorable climate of Kenya's highlands. This is the touchstone which every piece of legislation in the Colony should have to pass. Nothing else is of equal importance, if we are really concerned for a successful future for the Colony. Our Lecturer has, however, told us of one measure which is universally resented by the natives. Government will do well to maintain the most severe scrutiny of any legislative measures which impinge in any way upon the lives or the rights of the natives. Mr. Hobley has given us a very able review of the present situation, and I would again express my appreciation of the way in which he has treated his subject.

(*The Chairman*) : I would like to add a word to what has been said by Sir Francis Newton on the death of the great Chief Khama. I had the satisfaction of looking upon him as a personal friend. I had many opportunities of seeing him, and I always found him a very fine statesman who had the welfare of his natives genuinely at heart. He was straightforward in his religion, and it was a satisfaction to feel that we had between us bonds of friendship which were of great advantage, I think, to both of us. Sir Francis Newton has referred to the main points of Khama's career. I think the most remarkable thing about him—he was a very old man, well over ninety—was that although contemporary with other great Paramount Chiefs of recent times in South Africa, all of them great men in their own way, all of them warlike Chiefs, Khama was a man of peace. (Applause.) The position of his contemporaries was made largely by their wars, and largely by the dominating influence which they held over their tribes—I would not say by their brutality, but by their force of character, by which I mean that if you did not happen to agree with the Chief it was considerably the worse for you. (Laughter.) Khama was a great contrast with those Chiefs, inasmuch as from the beginning, when he was a young man, though he had to fight against warlike tribes, he was always on the side of peace, and wished to bring his people up in peaceful ways, and as far as possible in accord with the Christian religion. He was a Christian himself, and his policy was to be peaceful with other tribes, and loyal to the British Empire, especially to Queen Victoria, and to set a good example to his fellows. I think that differentiates him from his contemporaries. (Applause.) We all deeply regret the death of Khama, which is a great loss not only to his own tribe but to the Country, by reason of the great example he set to others. I am glad to say these few words with regard to one whom I consider to have been a very remarkable man in the history of South Africa. (Applause.)

In addition to the Lecture we have had some interesting speeches. I do not propose to detain you, but would like to say one word in respect of some remarks which fell from Mr. Hobley on the native question, with which I entirely agree. One sees a great deal of discussion with regard to the so-called rights and privileges of the Indians in Kenya, and the so-called rights and privileges of the whites, but I have often thought that we hear too little about the rights and privileges of the natives. It is our business as far as we can to protect them, to protect them in their rights, in their industries and in their land. (Applause.) No one wishes to prevent the civilising and opening up of these parts of Africa which are fit for white habitation, but one has to consider the rights of the natives. (Applause.) I myself feel that the natives after all were the first there, and that they have greater rights than anyone else.

I have now to thank Mr. Hobley for his most interesting Address, which, as one of the speakers remarked, will go far beyond the limits of this room, because we hope he will kindly allow us to publish it in the JOURNAL, which has a large circulation all over Africa, and is

always read with great interest. I need hardly formally put the vote of thanks to the Meeting, for I am sure we all appreciate the kindness of Mr. Hobley in coming here this afternoon and giving us his address.

Mr. Hobley thanked the Chairman for his kind remarks regarding himself, and proceeded to exhibit on the screen a series of lantern pictures from photographs illustrating the everyday life of the African natives. Beautiful views were also shown of mountain scenery, the snow-capped heights and dazzling glaciers being particularly appreciated.

Much interest also was shown in a fine picture of a native who carried the body of Livingstone a distance of over eleven hundred miles from the interior of Africa to the coast at Zanzibar, where it was handed over to the British Consul and shipped to England, being afterwards buried in Westminster Abbey. This native, Mr. Hobley stated, was still alive.

EDITORIAL NOTES

DURING the past winter all who take the least interest in **Tutankh-Amen's Tomb.** archæology have been thrilled by a discovery in Egypt scarcely less important than the finding of the Rosetta Stone. Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter, after sixteen years of patient, persistent and unrewarded labour, the last seven of which have been devoted to the Valley of the Kings near Luxor, a site abandoned by other Egyptologists, were rewarded by the discovery of the tomb of Tutankh-Amen, successor of Akhenaten, the Pharaoh who sought to substitute the worship of the living principle embodied in the sun for that of the divine man, Osiris, and imperilled his throne by holding pacifist views for which the world was some four thousand years too young. From the first moment of the opening of the tombs' outer chamber it was realised that the find was one of no ordinary importance. Like every other tomb that Egyptologists have explored, it had been violated by ancient grave-robbers, but the articles that the grave-robbers had left were unique in variety, in workmanship and in number. In the outer chamber alone were a throne, four chariots, State couches, beds, boxes, stools, statues, weapons, and musical instruments of gold, ivory, ebony and marble, vases of alabaster, robes and jewels. Many of the articles are in an excellent state of preservation and all are of most exquisite workmanship. Their intrinsic value is great; their artistic and archæological value incalculable.

The preservation of all this wealth for the delight and enlightenment of the present generation is due to two most happy fortuitous circumstances. The tomb of Rameses VI was made on the hillside above that of Tutankh-Amen, and the many tons of rubble cast out of the former covered the entrance to the latter, effectually preserving it from grave-robbers—except, unfortunately, from those who violated it before the tomb of Rameses was made. The great variety of the articles found in the tomb is due, in the opinion of Professor Flinders Petrie,

to an historical event. Tutankh-Amen's widow was childless. To obtain an heir to his throne she offered herself in marriage to a Hittite prince. Such relics of Hittite civilisation as have survived the centuries are so scanty that we can form but little idea of the standard of culture of a race of which we know little except that they sometimes pressed the Egyptians hard on the battlefield, but we may well believe, especially with Tutankh-Amen's treasures before us, that it was far inferior to that of contemporary Egypt. We know that the Egyptians thought it an abomination to eat with Hebrews, and no doubt they regarded with abhorrence a royal marriage with a member of the virile but possibly uncouth race to the north-east. In any case, rather than let a foreign interloper enjoy the use of articles of furniture that had belonged to their natural sovereign, the Egyptians of the day tumbled into Tutankh-Amen's tomb not only such articles as he would need on his journey to the under-world, but also all the most precious things in his armoury and treasury. In consequence of this racial prejudice, the articles now found, besides being rich in variety, include many things, some of them of Assyrian and perhaps of Cretan origin, that Tutankh-Amen must have inherited from his predecessors.

* * * * *

A PROTEST has been raised in various quarters against the removal of Tutankh-Amen's mummy, that **Legitimate Research or Vandalism?** it is expected to find when work is resumed next winter, from what was intended to be its eternal earthly resting-place. The ancient Egyptians took the most elaborate pains to make their tombs inviolable. In the case of practically every mummy yet discovered those pains were quite fruitless. So profitable was grave-robbery to ancient Egyptian vandals that modern Egyptologists have not found a single Royal burial-place intact. If the sarcophagus of Tutankh-Amen is found to contain his mummy untouched, it will be the first case in the history of Egyptology, and the removal of it to a museum will be less justifiable than that of other mummies. To what extent sentiment must give way to science is an open question. We can most of us sympathise with the feelings of the archæologist, quoted in Sir Arthur Keith's *Antiquity of Man*,

who travelled far and fast to the south of France to examine newly-discovered remains of Neanderthal man, and was unable to see them because the pious villagers of the neighbourhood had given them Christian burial! Science will certainly desire opportunity to measure Tutankh-Amen's cranial and nasal indices and estimate the brain capacity of his skull, but when that is done sentiment may well urge its claim on behalf of a man, no matter how long dead, who had very definite religious views on the subject of being allowed to rest in his grave. The sin, if it be any, of placing mummies in European and American museums belongs in the first instance to the original grave-robbers. The case of Tutankh-Amen is different.

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A FLEET of five Citroën motor-cars fitted with caterpillar wheels has successfully crossed the Sahara from Algiers to Timbuctoo, and back again. It was a creditable achievement on which both M. Haardt and those who made the journey with him, and also the makers of the Citroën car, are heartily to be congratulated. But it is a misuse of language to describe the exploit, as some of our contemporaries have done, as "the conquest of the Sahara." If merely to cross the Sahara is to conquer it, the credit was due thousands of years ago to the humble camel. The word suggests that the desert has been made of practical use to mankind, and that will not be achieved until—the feat is not wholly beyond modern science—its water-courses are made to run once more. The cost of the actual journey, M. Citroën says, worked out at 2½ francs per kilometre (about one shilling and twopence per mile at the present rate of exchange). This is an admirably low rate under the circumstances, but as an economical means of transport the camel remains unbeaten, and as a means of rapid transport the cars have not done anything that aeroplanes cannot do better. It is nevertheless a great achievement, and one that may lead the way to great developments.

* * * * *

KHAMA, paramount chief of the Bamangwato, who died in February last at an estimated age of over ninety years, was the last and greatest

Khama.

of the great native chiefs—Moshesh, Cetewayo, Lobengula, Lewanika—who bulked so largely in South African history of the last century. He was best known to the average man as a notable Christian. He has, in fact, principally because of his rigid prohibition of the drink traffic within his territory, been condemned as a puppet of the missionaries. But he was no puppet. His Christianity was consistent. He went into exile rather than obey the command of his father to “add beams to his house” by taking a second wife. The Bamangwato sided with Khama and deposed Sekoni, but the son loyally reinstated his heathen father and did not assume the chieftainship until 1875. Though the Bamangwato have a higher standard of indigenous culture than their neighbours, they are less warlike, yet Khama was warrior enough to hearten his people against the aggression of the Matebele and to take the field himself. It is said that in one battle he himself wounded the redoubtable Lobengula. But he is more notable as statesman than as warrior. He successfully preserved his country at a difficult time from absorption into the Transvaal Republic, and later into the Chartered Companies Territories. In 1885 he placed it under the direct protection of the British Crown, and ever after maintained perfect loyalty to his chosen sovereign—loyalty that towards the end of his long life was rewarded, through the medium of Lord Buxton—then High Commissioner and Governor-General of South Africa—with an unsolicited increase in his annual allowance from the Crown. A warrior, a statesman and a gentleman, Khama was a living refutation of the theory that an African cannot come under the influence of European civilisation without deteriorating.

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AN agreement made between the Administrator of South-West Africa. West Africa and the Imperial Cold Storage Company may have far-reaching effects on the development of what is at present the most neglected part of British South Africa. The Company is to spend some two hundred and fifty thousand pounds on the erection at Walvis Bay of a plant capable of chilling daily the carcasses of one hundred and fifty cattle and three hundred sheep, of curing hams and bacon, and of storing dairy produce. At present

there are only half a million head of cattle and two million small stock in the country, but that the country is capable of producing stock on a far bigger scale seems proved by the fact that since 1915 the amount of stock of both kinds has more than doubled despite an annual export to the Union of 20,000 oxen and nearly 100,000 sheep, and the heavy drains caused by the local demands of troops during and after the campaign. The Windhuk correspondent of our contemporary, *The African World*, to whom we are indebted for the figures quoted above, points out that Walvis Bay is the one port in South Africa of which the climatic and geographical conditions are such that meat can be cooled naturally, chilled to the required temperature and transported to Europe within the time during which chilled, as opposed to frozen, meat must be placed on the market. The advantage of this is obvious when it is realised that chilled meat fetches in the markets from twice to two and a half times the price of frozen meat. The Government on its part is to spend rather more than half a million pounds on such improvements to the harbour as will enable deep-draught steamers to take on cargoes direct from the shore without the use of lighters. Minor industries which will benefit by the improvement of the port are the export of the skins of the Karakul sheep for astrachan fur, and crayfish-canning. Other developments contemplated are the extension of the railway system to Gobabis near the Bechuanaland border and to the Wankie coalfields.

* * * * *

DURING the last half-century the development of Portugal's African possessions has lagged far behind that of the colonies of other European Powers. For this Portugal is not altogether to blame. In the spacious days when Pope Alexander VI divided the European world beyond Europe between Spain and Portugal, assigning to the latter the whole of Africa and Asia, Portugal made such a stupendous effort to swallow the share assigned to her, and established so many forts between Sofala and Macao, that the home country was drained of her manhood to such an extent that when a new era replaced conquest by intelligent development of the new countries' latent wealth, she had neither the men nor the capital with which to exploit the colonies that

remained to her. Two events have recently occurred that may place Angola and Portuguese East Africa more on a footing with their neighbours. The recently discovered diamondiferous area in the Belgian Congo has been found to extend into Angola. Prospecting operations between the head-waters of the Kasai and Tshikapa rivers began in 1916. The first year's output of diamonds amounted to 809,300 carats. That of 1921, the last date for which returns are available, was 106,719,460 carats. The diamonds are of good quality, the mining of the deposits presents no engineering difficulties and, as the diamond-bearing gravel is loose, the milling of it is a comparatively inexpensive matter. Precious stones and metals afford a poor basis on which to base the ultimate prosperity of a country, but they are invaluable in accelerating the development of a young country. But for the discovery of gold in California in 1849 that State might still be a sparsely peopled country, with hides for its principal export, instead of one of the world's richest gardens. Similarly in South Africa the modern farmer sends his produce to market by means of railways that might never have been made but for the diamonds of Kimberley and the gold of the Rand. In Portuguese East Africa the construction of the Trans-Zambesia Railway makes possible the development of the coalfields, estimated to cover 35,000 square miles, in the neighbourhoods of Tete and Chicova.

* * * * *

DURING the East African campaign Nyasaland forces had to be reinforced by British troops. The cost of these was defrayed by the War Office, but, as stated by Mr. Ormsby-Gore in the House of Commons on January 26th, "it has recently been discovered that the War Office is not liable to this charge." Nyasaland was therefore called upon to pay up and look as pleasant as she could under the circumstances. Nyasaland, having a deficit of about £30,000 pounds in this year's Budget, has not the money. In order, therefore, to enable it to square its accounts with the War Office, the House of Commons came to the rescue with a loan in aid.

**A Loan to
Nyasaland.**

BOOKS REVIEWED

La Civilisation Urbaine au M'zab. By Dr. Marcel Mercier.
(Paris: Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob. 1922.)

THE region known as M'zab lies in the extreme south of Algeria. To the east of it lies Wargla, and some distance to the south are the oases of Tuat.

These regions have since the eighth century A.D. been a stronghold of Moslem unorthodoxy—a remote area where the Zenatian Berber tribes, who embraced the doctrines of the Kharijites, or “seceders” from the Khalif Ali at the battle of Siffin, have been able to maintain even to the present day a distinctive social organisation.

In *La Civilisation Urbaine au M'zab* Dr. Marcel Mercier briefly recalls the history of the Kharijites in Africa from their occupation of the Nefusa mountain onwards, and describes the M'zab region, with its climatic and other conditions.

He then examines in detail—with copious references to other works—the nature of the M'zab towns, their general plan and social organisation, their assemblies of notables, hieratic or secular, their leaders (Kaid) and Hâkims (judges) and Tolbas; the M'zab markets, tombs, walls, roads, and mosques, and public works in general.

In a *deuxième partie* Dr. Mercier deals equally exhaustively with the M'zab house, ancient and modern, its doors, locks, outhouses, materials of construction, ornaments, utensils, and domestic economy in general.

The “conclusion” of the book deals with the respective importance of Islamic or Arab influences on the one hand and pre-Islamic or Berber influences on the other, as observed in the M'zab towns of to-day.

Dr. Mercier's general conclusion is that whereas the Kharijites brought with them the “ferment of Islam” when they finally settled in M'zab in the tenth century, yet in other respects the more ancient Berber civilisation remained intact.

To the student of Islam in Africa the work will be particularly useful, in that it gives the Arabic and Berber names for most of the technical terms used.

If, on the one hand, it indicates that a great deal on the material side of M'zab civilisation was drawn from the Libyans and Phenicians, on the other it affords evidence—which is in

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harmony with other evidence—of how very considerable was the influence of the Kharijites, 'Ibadides, Wahabites, and other Islamic schismatics in the introduction of Islam to the Sudan, particularly in Bornu, Kanem, and the Kauwar region.

It would appear, for instance, from the geographer Yacubi, A.D. 891, that the "fathers" of the mediæval slave trade between the Chad region and the Mediterranean were merchants from Basra and Kufa and Khorasan—Wahabites—who settled in Southern Fezzan. Hence, no doubt, the reason why the Tomagheri Teda are commonly called by Bornu writers "Beni Wahab," and why in Bornu itself the leading hierarchs were called, as among the M'zab, "Tolba."

From Edrisi we learn that the Zaghawa Berbers (who towards A.D. 900 ruled Kanem) were fused and influenced by other Berbers called "Sadrata." From Dr. Mercier's work it seems fairly clear that the word "Sadrata," hitherto unexplained and the reading even doubted, were Kharijite Berbers of the Wargla region, who, owing to one or other of the constant schisms, had gone south and settled among the Zaghawa of Kanem.

In this connection pages 1-19 of Dr. Mercier's work are particularly valuable.

Tiareb was destroyed in A.D. 902, but it was doubtless from Tiareb and other similar Wahabiti centres that the Bornuese, Fulani, and other Sudanese got their "Solar Calendars" or "Mansions of the Moon," and other ideas or conceptions which belong not to the post-Ghazzali African orthodoxy, but rather to the thoughts and ideas of the schismatic East, Persia, Irak and Khorasan.

The work is illustrated by a number of excellent photographs, and a "Bibliography." It is unfortunate that such a useful book containing so many technical terms has no index, but it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Northern Africa and African Islam.

H. R. P.

Siwa, the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. By C. Dalrymple Belgrave. With an Introduction by Sir R. Wingate. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, Ltd., 1923; pp. xxix + 275. Photos and sketches. 15s. net.)

SIWA is a little-known oasis, or, rather, group of oases, in the Libyan Desert on the borders of Egypt and Tripoli—a fertile island in the midst of a vast, parched and featureless tableland, which prior to the war had been visited by very few Europeans. The inhabitants, some three or four thousand in

number, are the remains of an ancient race of Berber origin. Mr. Belgrave spent about two years there, first in command of a section of the Frontier Districts Administration Camel Corps, and then as District Officer, and employed his leisure very profitably in investigating the history, manners and customs of this desert community. Sir R. Wingate says in his Introduction that the Siwans "are of all people perhaps the most interesting." The history of the oasis goes back at least as far as the sixteenth century B.C. when Siwa came into connection with Egypt. Some centuries later it was colonised by Rameses III. The oracle of Siwa was famous in ancient times—so famous that monarchs like Croesus and Alexander the Great travelled from afar to consult it. The remains of the Temple of Ammon still exist near Siwa. Innumerable stories are told of hidden cities buried in the surrounding desert, and some day perhaps excavation will reveal much of the past history now concealed from us. Perhaps, too, the once famous emerald mines will be rediscovered. The town of Siwa itself is built on a great rock in the centre of the oasis. The houses are constructed of mud, mixed with salt, one above the other against the face of the rock, and the outer walls form one great line of battlements, pierced by little groups of windows, and rising sheer above the ground in some places to the height of almost 200 feet. The interior of the town, Mr. Belgrave aptly compares with an enormous African ant-hill. His photographs and coloured sketches admirably illustrate this curious place. Water is abundant, more indeed than is required for irrigating the gardens, and the unenterprising inhabitants allow it to run to waste instead of cultivating more of the rich soil. The sight of the palm groves—there are 170,000 date palms in Siwa—the olive and other fruit trees must be very refreshing to the desert-worn traveller as he approaches the oasis—a veritable garden of Hesperides, as Mr. Belgrave calls it. The author made good use of his time in this fascinating spot and has given us much valuable information, conveyed in a charming manner, about the people, with whom he appears to have lived on very friendly terms. The chapter on customs and superstitions, and the succeeding one on "Fantasias," in which he describes among other things the "zikr," a religious dance or exercise, are particularly interesting. We heartily thank Mr. Belgrave for his book and trust to have more from him.

E. W. S.

ONE of our members, Captain L. W. G. Malcolm, has recently published two articles on the natives of the Cameroon, West Africa. The first of these, in *Folklore* (December 1922), deals with the religious beliefs of the Eghāp, and contains several

valuable features. These natives name the Supreme Being, Mbomvei, and believe that he delegated the creation of mankind to lesser deities. Every living person has one of these beings, an *mbop*, not only as his personal creator, but also as a kind of guardian. A person has two souls besides the *mbop*. Captain Malcolm gives many curious illustrations of the beliefs that the ghosts of certain men enter into the bodies of animals, and that animals can enter into men. He also gives a number of ghost stories. Altogether, a very useful paper. The second of Captain Malcolm's articles was published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for January 1923, and deals with huts and villages in the Cameroon. He gives a map to show the distribution of the six types of huts which he enumerates. There is a sharp line of demarcation between the forest and grassland areas, and huts with gable roofs are found only in the former area, which is peopled by tribes mainly of Bantu extraction.

E. W. S.

The Witch Doctor and other Rhodesian Studies. By Frank Worthington, C.B.E., lately Secretary for Native Affairs, Northern Rhodesia. (London: The Field Press, n.d., pp. 235.)

THOSE of us who knew Mr. Worthington and admired his work in Northern Rhodesia always hoped that one day he would write a book. What he has now given us is not quite the book that we expected, but we nevertheless accord it a warm welcome. It is not bulky, but there is more undiluted wisdom in it than in many a far more weighty tome. He has thrown his experiences into the form of a number of short stories and sketches, arranged in three divisions: The Mind of the Native; Man and Beast; White Men and Black. They make delightful reading. The one that gives the title to the collection is a clever sketch of a "witch-doctor" whose reputation was killed by timely ridicule. "The Riddle of Life and Death" is, to us, a new version of the well-known African myth of the hare and chameleon—here the snake and tortoise. All the stories have their charm. Perhaps our favourite is "Darwin: a Bird," a delightful tale about a marabout stork. Every one is redolent of the soil and reveals the kindly humanity that, concealed perhaps for tactical reasons under official dignity, characterises the true "native man." We thank the author for a very pleasant evening spent in company with his book, and hope that he will give us more. Or, in words that he will understand, "*Ngake, ka moso le ka moso!*"

E. W. S.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,

Miss Werner's letter in your last issue is most interesting. It seems to be based on the assumption that the International Phonetic Association are the sole arbiters of what Phonetics should be. Everything is to be expressed in their terms and brought into line with the system they have devised.

Now that system is modern. Without in the least wishing to deny that the I.P.A. has done yeoman service and supplied a long-felt want, permit me to say that the languages it was originally intended to deal with do not date back much before the time of Homer, that is about 1000 B.C.

Those who have really learnt a typical African language of the Bantu type will find certain novel features; and these belong to the earliest phenomena of language. If we merely set the facts down in a mechanical fashion we shall not get very far. The study that is needed to-day is to find *reasons* for those facts and to adapt our phonetics accordingly. Such study begins with acquiring native thought and feeling, the real life and soul of the language, and may *then* go on to deal with the puzzling questions of philology. Academic study, apart from native thought and feeling, will, I am convinced, only end in confusion.

Meinhof was the first to emphasise the importance of labialisation and palatalisation. I have not noticed this African feature in anything the I.P.A. has dealt with up to now. Another point that Meinhof laid stress upon was the use of nasal "n"; in this matter his theories fall far short, though his employment of the term "nasal" might convey a deeper insight into the phenomenon than has been usually attributed to him. Meinhof had never acquired an African language in such fashion as to appreciate *why this was so markedly a feature* of African Bantu, and so obviously wanting in all modern speech. The I.P.A. have never recognised this feature, and Miss Werner's letter shows how little it has been *studied*. I do not think the I.P.A. have yet suggested a name for it.

There is yet another feature which has not yet received any explanation. I refer to the stability of the vowels and the instability of all the consonants. The suggestion that I would make is this—expression and feeling are given by *manipulating the consonant*, not as in European languages by varying the vowel. Consequently the

vowel value never changes; but the consonant varies considerably according to the stress laid upon it, which stress is the expression of the speaker's feeling. Its modern form has, of course, been determined by past history in the evolution of the race. But even so there *may* be slight variation of the consonant in the enunciation of each individual.

Following on this the length of the vowel varies considerably. It is up to modern phonetics to study the length of the vowel in relation to both the preceding and following consonant; and such a study for Bantu phonetics would be of infinitely more value than a mere mechanical enumeration of sounds. Ought we not also to study each consonant with a vowel following? That would be the native way; "ba" rather than "b," "ta" rather than "t," etc. Should we find any difference in the consonant as we went through the syllables *ba, be, bi, bo, bu*, etc.?

I venture to think that the main reason why Europeans cannot agree on an orthography for African speech is simply this—the native speaks as he feels. His expression is given in the consonant, which therefore appeals to one European in one way and to another in another. Even if you had made a complete analysis of any given consonant sound, there would yet need to be life and expression—that very subtle, but none the less real, difference between living speech and a dead language.

Varying vowel length, intelligently used according to the thought that is to be expressed, has made the language markedly rhythmical. It is up to modern phonetics to point out where mere rhythmical enunciation ends and Musical Accent begins. Dr. Laman's book may be highly scientific; but, unless there is some very strong reason to the contrary, our older system of vowel length intelligently used according to the sense is infinitely simpler and more likely to appeal to the majority of those who wish to speak an African language correctly.

The last paragraph of Miss Werner's letter shows some confusion of thought. I do not want to say too much about Ganda being a very typical form of early Bantu speech; but it is important to have a standard from which to start, and such a standard should enable us to give some sequence to our ideas. Not every Bantu speech is of the same age, nor are all the types of equal importance for analytical purposes.

In Ganda a word like *omulam*, in good health, may be pronounced as four syllables or as three according to the idea you wish to express. In saying *omulam'* with three syllables the last "m" is distinctly sonant. A few similar instances of sonant "m" final could be given. Sonant "m" as the first letter of a radical is only found in the one word *ma*, for *ima*, to refuse to give a thing, withhold a gift. Sonant "n" is found occasionally, as in some forms of the word for "four"; e.g. *abantu ba'na*, four men. There is no instance in Ganda of sonant "n" final; but in Cwana final "ni" becomes "ng." Also in non-Bantu this sonant "n" may become, as in Teso, nearly "ny." That is the sonant form of "n" and "m."

The second form closely resembles our English "m" and "n"; so I will say no more here.

The third form is a nasal glide, very characteristic of pure Bantu, such as Ganda; but partially omitted in less pure Bantu, probably under Semitic influence.

There is not the least doubt that in Ganda it slightly lengthens the preceding vowel; nor was there, at the time I was in the country, any recognition by the natives of this nasal glide as a distinct letter. It is also to be noted that in the Portuguese Lunda Grammar of Carvalho this nasal glide is denoted solely by a nasal mark drawn through the consonant following.

It has been pointed out to me that traces of this feature survive in Celtic Grammar, which inserts an "n" between a possessive pronoun and its noun in certain cases; e.g. *hon Otro hac hon Salvor*, our Lord and Saviour. There are some remnants of it in Greek and Latin philology, e.g. *ίκτωρ* and *centum*; and slight traces in modern speech, as cinder—incinerate; club—clump; or the relation of Eng. pumpkin to Greek *πεπων*, of which Prof. Skeat wrote, "the insertion of *m* before *p* causes no difficulty." In all these cases the original nasal "n" glide has been converted into a modern consonant "n" and the vowel ending syllable changed into a closed one. The older principle has been completely lost and forgotten.

There are thus three varieties of "n" and "m"; viz. sonant, simple and nasal glide. These have nothing whatever to do with any Class Prefix, in the first instance. There is, however, a Class Prefix that has degraded down to N; its original was *gin*, a reed. In pure Bantu, where the Initial Vowel or Preprefix is still retained, the form is *enyumba*, a house, *empagi*, a post, etc., though the pronominal agreement is always *gi* or *i*, never *gin*, e.g. *ba-gi-zimbye*, they have built it. Here the tone (stress is too strong a word) is on the radical syllable *yumba*, *pági*, and secondary tone on the Preprefix.

In less pure Bantu, where the Preprefix has been lost, the remaining "n" is in some cases slightly sonant, as *n-goma*, *n-gombe*; but there is no one rule. In other cases the "n" may be absorbed into the following consonant, slightly changing its force. If that consonant happens to be "g," we may get *ng'*, so giving *ng'oma*, *ng'ombe*—the strong *ng'* replacing the weaker *ng* sound in compensation for omitted syllable.

These things being so, is there not some scope for study—quite apart from I.P.A.—in African phonetics?

W. A. CRABTREE.

13th March, 1923.

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NOTE.—There are many subjects in Africa, such as Racial Characteristics, Political and Industrial Conditions, Labour, Disease, Currency, Banking, Education, and so on, about which information is imperfect and opinion divided. On none of these complicated and difficult questions has Science said the last word. Under these circumstances it has been considered best to allow those competent to form an opinion to express freely in this Journal the conclusions at which they themselves have arrived. *It must be clearly understood that the object of the Journal is to gather information, and that each writer must be held responsible for his own views.*

THE PROGRESS OF AFRICA¹

THE Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was the principal guest at a Dinner of the Society held on 15th May, 1923, when Earl Buxton, the President, was in the Chair. After some preliminary observations (see page 317) the Duke said :

I do not know whether many of you have seen the very admirable film which has recently been exhibited in London giving a description of a journey from Cape Town to, I think, Mombasa. Well, I noticed that with a view to making it clearer to the audience a little arrow flitted up and down the map which was placed before the audience. My friend, the Chairman, has taken the same line as the arrow, and with happy and successful touches has alluded to many of the features of our connection with Africa. It is indeed, when one realises its history, the part which it has played in the past, its efforts during the war, and the great opportunities which it now presents, a study both attractive and romantic, and if you

¹ *Vide* also p. 317.

will allow me to say so, I wish not only to congratulate, but to thank your Society for the work it is doing in making the people of this country better acquainted with the problem, the history and the possibilities of that great continent. It is very right that we should not pride ourselves too much on past achievements. We have, I think, some claim, that we are not a boastful nation or Empire, but I venture to suggest, with some confidence, that our history in relation to the opening out and development of that great continent is one in which we can have some legitimate pride and satisfaction. Its history and its development are striking proofs of what can be achieved under the free institutions of the British Empire.

When one looks at it from the point of view of the development and growth of what is now known as South Africa, when one regards the work that has brought that Union to the proud position which it now occupies as one of the great nations of the Empire, I think we have some reason to congratulate those who took a prominent and active part in bringing this result about. I think it was the occasion of this Dinner last year, when you, Lord Buxton, sketched the historical points which played so important a part in the development and position which South Africa occupies to-day; from that standpoint we are looking forward with confidence and with hope that the Conference which will take place in the autumn of this year will mark another onward step in the development of our Empire. Both in war and in peace it has been proved that the Empire is one of the greatest factors of the world for the advancement of human happiness and prosperity. If with the experience and the knowledge that we have gained we can still further strengthen those ties, as I believe we can, and if we can work together for the realisation of those objects which we share, we can in a marked degree contribute not merely to the progress and prosperity of the Empire, but we can make that Empire an even greater factor than she has ever been before in the preservation of the peace of the world.

But it is not only in the great Union of South Africa, it is in the other colonies and protectorates of the Empire where we see progress has been made. I know that many of you would like to hear a pronouncement from me to-night; but I must ask you to possess yourselves in patience a little longer.

I can, however, assure you that I and my advisers are working hard at the question of Rhodesia, and I hope with every confidence that at no very distant date I may be in a position of making an announcement which I hope will prove satisfactory to all concerned. We are working to-day with that object. I know that many of you are anxious that a statement should be made.

Lord Buxton very rightly mentioned in connection with our Empire in Africa the names of some of those who are taking to-day so prominent and so interesting a part in the development of that Empire. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying to their faces, what I have very often said behind their backs, that we are grateful to them for the work they are doing. You are rendering services of the highest character to the Empire, and I can assure you that so long as I have the privilege of being Secretary of State for the Colonies, you can rest assured that I have the most full and implicit confidence in the man on the spot. I am prepared to trust you. I know that by tradition, by training, by experience, by sympathy, you have the qualification of fulfilling and carrying out your task. I ask you to regard me and my office as real friends and colleagues who are anxious and willing not to interfere with your work, but if and when the occasion demands it to be able to render to you such assistance as we can.

Since my time at the Colonial Office it has not fallen to my lot to make any recommendations for appointments to the chief places in Africa. I trust it may be long before vacancies occur, but I can assure you that if and when those vacancies do occur in the normal sequence of events, it will be my duty as well as my pleasure to find men who are prepared to carry on the work in the same spirit in which you are carrying it on, and I hope you will take it not as a mere idle or perfunctory compliment when I thank you for those services, and I trust you will carry them on in the same broad spirit as you are carrying them on to-day. It would indeed be difficult to generalise on the conditions which must necessarily vary according to climatic conditions, but there is one thing in common which to you on the spot must always be of paramount importance—we must all remember that as a progres-

sive, enterprising race we naturally turn to where our energy can be usefully and practically employed.

But in opening out these great areas we must always remember that we find there are great masses of human beings, and it has always been the proud boast that the development, the advancement, the happiness of the native races should be our special care and protection. To that end, I believe great progress has been made. On the occasion of the Dinner of this Society last year, one of my distinguished predecessors, Lord Selborne, had just returned from Nigeria, and was the principal guest. I read his speech, and I noticed he laid special emphasis on the desire which he had come across there, and which I have reason to believe is equally well shared in other colonies, of the native population for education. It may take possibly various forms, but we have deliberately undertaken and we carry on our shoulders the responsibilities for the advancement and progress of those realms. And it is for us, the people of this country acting through the constitutional methods, by Parliament, and Ministers responsible to Parliament, to bear that burden. It is one my predecessors fully realised. It is one we recognise to-day, and one which I believe will always be recognised, whatever may be the political complexion of parties in this country. I believe and trust that historians in the future will look with pride upon the work which we are carrying on to-day, and it is in that confidence that I appeal to you to work in close co-operation at home in carrying out this great trust.

To a certain extent, to-night, I labour under a disability. We have a large and distinguished audience, many of you closely connected with Africa. Unfortunately, I am afraid that I have never set foot in Africa myself. It is a drawback, a very serious drawback. I am afraid that Lord Buxton knows full well that Parliamentary and other engagements would prevent the Secretary of State from taking steps to remedy the deficiency to which I have just referred. But I hope that even if the Secretary of State is unable, by personal observation, by personal contact, to make himself better acquainted with and better known to the people on the spot, we shall be able to send out from the Colonial Office representatives who will visit at the request of the Governor, at any rate some of the

colonies and protectorates. Obviously it cannot all be accomplished in the course of one trip, but I hope—I do not wish to hold out too many expectations—but I hope the Parliamentary position will allow Mr. Ormsby Gore, the Parliamentary Secretary, to visit Africa, in conjunction with some of our other advisers of the Colonial Office, towards the end of the year. Mr. Ormsby Gore very materially increased his personal knowledge and also contributed to the utility of the Colonial Office by the trip which he took with his predecessor as Under-Secretary, Mr. Edward Wood, when they visited the West Indies a short time ago. A personal knowledge, a personal contact, is, I am quite sure, worth many telegrams and many written dispatches. We hope we shall be able to send out representatives of the Colonial Office, on the invitation of the Governors themselves, to make themselves acquainted with the conditions.

I am thankful that I have had during the last few weeks the opportunity of personally meeting and discussing various problems with Governors who are taking what ought to be a holiday, but what, I am afraid, many of them are turning rather into too hard work. I am glad of having that opportunity of meeting them, and I am quite confident that even if I have not been able to impart any assistance and information to them, I have received very valuable assistance from them.

I can only again, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for the warm and generous reception you have given me to-night. I realise the responsibilities of my office, and I trust that whenever the moment may come when I have to leave that office that I shall feel as happy at the end as I do at the present moment. I shall not deny that we have our troubles, we have our anxieties. Lord Buxton has alluded to our youngest dominion. It is not altogether a calm and peaceful spot, but still I am confident that she will be able, in due course, to take a worthy place among her sister nations of the Empire. I trust that under my guidance at the Colonial Office we can look forward to a year, if not of tranquillity, at any rate of achievement and progress, and I can assure you that at all times if your Society have matters which you desire to bring before me, or on which I ask your assistance and co-operation, I shall be only too glad to work in unison with you.

AFRICA AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH ¹

To the modern educated man it is particularly difficult to conceive of the world without the aid of maps. From his childhood he has been so accustomed to the use of atlases that whenever a particular subdivision of the earth's surface is mentioned there arises in his mind a picture of that region as presented in the flat according to some conventional projection. He is worried and somewhat puzzled if he sees a map on another projection wherein the familiar outline is modified or, as he instinctively thinks, distorted. The atlases to which we are accustomed almost always give us maps of land areas bounded by seas at their edges, and in consequence we think of the sea as a divider. But the historian in his study of the past finds that as a rule the sea unites the people on its coasts rather than divides them. If he marks out the great areas of the globe that have had each a common history, his divisions will only rarely correspond with those in his atlas, and perhaps the most notable instance of this is to be found in the so-called "continent" of Africa. Geographically, Africa is an enormous and sharply defined peninsula pointing southwards from the great land mass of the Old World, and commonly shown whole on a single sheet of the atlas. But when we examine the "continent" from a point of view of a science that directs its attention not merely to the land form but to the living things that it contains, and above all when we look at it historically, the apparent unity is seen to be illusory.

North Africa from Cape Nun to the Isthmus of Suez is emphatically a Mediterranean land closely linked throughout the ages with the lands on the other side of the midland sea, steeped in history and integrally connected in every century with the politics of Southern Europe and Western Asia. At its eastern end lies Egypt, the land of the Nile, one of the earliest cradles of civilisation, with a continuous history stretching back for five or six thousand years, and throughout the whole

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society held at King's College, Strand, on 1st May, 1923. For report of other proceedings see p. 323.

of that period one of the most important centres of human striving. In the centre of the North African littoral lay Carthage; for centuries the rival of Rome, and later one of the wealthiest and most important provinces of the Empire. Near its site in modern times stands Tunis, the scene of the struggles of St. Louis and our Edward I, of Charles V and Barbarossa, and in our own time the focus of many rivalries for Mediterranean power. Even Morocco and Barbary, whose history has been less studied than that of any other part of North Africa, cannot properly be approached save in the closest ethnic and historical connection with Iberia, lying as it does on the opposite shore of the narrow strait that forms the western gateway of the Old World. The real dividing line between the Mediterranean lands and modern Africa is not the sea, but lies to the south beyond the stony, arid wastes of the Sahara and the deserts of Libya. The lands to the south have historic unity, for, in contrast to the immemorial antiquity of the lands of the northern littoral, the Africa that lies beyond the Tropic of Cancer has a story that begins only with modern times, and has most of its chapters within the compass of little more than a hundred years. There is the subject of this paper, and an endeavour will be made to indicate here and there a few of the opportunities for research that its history seems to afford, and to show something of the unity which makes the history of modern Africa an integral part of a wider story, that of the expansion of the European peoples. Africa beyond the tropic is a land that has always been approached by civilised men oversea, and though within the latest years a few adventurous travellers have begun to pass to it by the ancient caravan routes across the desert, or by the difficult navigation of the Upper Nile, historically these links are still of the slightest, and they do nothing to break the practical insularity of the continent.

How comes it that the Africa of our inquiry possesses practically no history before the coming of Europeans? Those lands have been inhabited since remote ages by peoples who are to be numbered by millions, and who afford to the anthropologist and the student of language and primitive custom an extremely varied field of study. But history only begins when men take to writing; it is concerned almost entirely with

written records, and can only make subsidiary use of the material remains with which the archæologist and the anthropologist are concerned. Save in Abyssinia, whose story lies apart from the rest, the inhabitants of Africa south of the tropic never possessed the art of writing before the coming of Europeans, and they have therefore left no records which can be studied by the historian. The name of the "Dark" Continent is well deserved, for all the light of civilisation that illumines it has come from the outside, to some small extent from Arabia, but practically almost wholly from Europe.

Two English scholars of first-rate authority have surveyed the story as a whole, and everyone who begins investigation into the history of Africa must familiarise himself with their work. Sir H. H. Johnston, besides his numerous other authoritative books, has summarised the whole history in a single volume, *The Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races* (Camb. Univ. Press, new edition, 1913); and Sir Charles Lucas has added to the debt all students owe him for his admirable volumes on South and Tropical Africa (*Historical Geography of the British Empire*, Oxf. Univ. Press) by his recent stimulating and suggestive book on *The Partition and Colonisation of Africa* (Oxf. Univ. Press, 1922). The bibliographies attached to these works afford an initiation into the mass of monograph material that has been produced in recent years on African history, but much of which has only been incidental to studies that are mainly concerned either with politics and travel or with anthropology. Some of the most valuable contributions to the clearing up of controverted questions in the history of geographical discovery in Africa are to be found in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, the *Journal of the African Society*, and other periodical publications to which there is no exhaustive bibliographical guide. For books and pamphlets relating to Africa south of the Zambesi, however, we have the bibliographical catalogue of the Mendelssohn Library, which is now one of the most valuable possessions of the Union Library in Cape Town.

Monograph work on African history has been almost entirely concerned with actual happenings in Africa, and has suffered to some extent from lack of connection with the only real bind-

ing link, the general history of European expansion oversea. There are vague beginnings of the history in the Middle Ages when some gleanings can be found from Arab geographers and chroniclers, but their references are very fragmentary, and the story really only commences with the fourteenth century, when Andalusian sailors under the flag of Castile re-explored the Fortunate Islands or, as we now call them, the Canaries. The Pope, as traditional overlord of all islands, granted them as a fief to Don Luis de la Cerda of the royal house of Castile, and for something like a century a contest for their possession went on between the Portuguese and Spaniards, aided on either side by English, Flemish and French adventurers who attempted to establish permanent colonies there, the first European settlements beyond the limits of the Mediterranean world. The narrative of these struggles has probably been as fully revealed as is possible from the documents that are extant, but there are two points in regard to them that might afford room for research. The financing of the various expeditions was mainly undertaken by the Genoese, who were interested in the islands and the similar Madeira group discovered by the Portuguese in the first half of the fifteenth century, mainly as a source of slaves and for the raising of valuable tropical products like sugar. The beginnings of such plantation industry would be difficult to trace, but the results would well repay a student who would explore the literature of Italian commerce in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the Portuguese documents in the archives of the Torre do Tombo, the most important of which are printed in the collection known as "Alguns Documentos," published by the Academy of Lisbon.

Exploration of these activities of the Genoese merchants and adventurers will lead on directly to a new study of the early Portuguese voyages and the work of Prince Henry "the Navigator," whose schemes they did so much to further. It was the historical investigations of Mr. R. H. Major in the middle of the nineteenth century that fully revealed the magnitude of Prince Henry's contribution to the history of the world, and his work has been admirably continued and extended by another English scholar, Prof. C. Raymond Beazley. But the real greatness of their hero has, perhaps, made some of their work

too much of a panegyric, and by something of over-insistence on the results of the earlier Portuguese voyages as leading up to the discovery of the route to the Indies they have passed too cursorily over the important economic and commercial aspects of the voyages which for the first time opened up African markets to European traders. An interesting article by Prof. Beazley in the *American Historical Review* in January 1912 carried forward the study rather more to this side of the story, but there seems plenty of room for further historical investigation in the field. We know very little of the introduction into the Lisbon slave markets of captives, first from the desert region round the earliest Portuguese fort in Africa at Arguin, and later from the fertile and thickly populated regions of the Senegal which were called "Bilad Ghana," or, in its modern form, Guinea. Many new products besides slaves were introduced from thence to the European markets by the Genoese merchants, and within the following twenty years a new source for the replenishment of Europe's scanty stock of gold was found in the sands of the West African rivers. The names that those shores still bear in modern maps, the Gold Coast, the Slave Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Pepper Coast and so on date right back to the period of their early exploration, and we should like to know much more of the circumstances of the first traders there and of the founding of the Portuguese settlement which governed it, São Jorge da Mina, St. George of the Mine, the predecessor of the modern Elmina. Christopher Columbus is said to have accompanied the expedition sent out by King John II to establish the fort there, but we still know little of its story. So we might go on down the whole of the western coast of the continent; the beginning and early history of Biafra, Loanda, Benguela, Mossamedes and the whole province of Angola, the islands of Fernando Po, São Thome and Annobon, have received comparatively little of the detailed scientific historical investigation that they deserve. In our own time the discovery of some of the stone pillars or *padrões* that were set up by the first discoverers on the coast to mark its annexation to the possessions of Portugal has excited momentary interest, but in general the work of scholars has been directed far more to the dramatic story of the Portuguese beginnings in the Indies than to the

comparatively obscure happenings on the African coast. A few traditional generalisations have been accepted without criticism, and secondary writers have been content to leave large gaps in their story. A single instance may suffice.

It is commonly stated in the somewhat unsatisfactory histories of the Island of St. Helena that the Portuguese, until the seventeenth century, kept secret the situation of that island, which was a very important point of call for their homeward-bound fleets from the Indies. A student who is investigating the early history of the English colony in St. Helena presented this statement as evidence that it was impossible to carry back the story of the island much before 1600. The instinct, rather than the knowledge, of his teacher questioned the statement and a comparatively simple inquiry among sixteenth-century maps and records soon confirmed this view, and showed that the supposed secrecy was merely a fiction, though it had been copied from one compilation into another for two hundred years. With only comparatively little investigation it is possible to supply the gaps in the published histories to a very considerable extent, and place the story of the island on a sound documentary basis.

When we turn to examine the story of Portuguese activities on the eastern side of Africa, we find that somewhat more historical work has been done, but even here there are very extensive gaps. A good deal of investigation has been undertaken in recent years into the early history of Abyssinia. The point that has attracted most attention has been the study of the historic bases for the fables of the Middle Ages concerning the legendary Prester John, and the identification of his kingdom with the Christian empire of Abyssinia. The well-known French historian, M. Charles Bourel de la Roncière, presented to the recent Historical Congress in Brussels summaries of his researches into the early history and geography of the East African coast, which are shortly to be published in book form. M. Marinesco of Bucarest at the same Congress derived the title Prester John and its traditional attributes from perversions of the Amharic terms actually used in Abyssinia. A good deal of work has recently been done in England and Portugal on the writings of Damian Goes, the Portuguese

writer who first familiarised European readers in the sixteenth century with the results of Portuguese exploration and diplomatic intercourse with the Christian kingdom that lay at the back of the Muslim world. The Director of the School of Oriental Studies (Sir E. Denison Ross) has published in the last two or three years several valuable contributions to the story of early Portuguese enterprise on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and he has placed historians much in his debt by his publication in the Bulletin of the School his new discoveries concerning the earliest Portuguese history of Abyssinia which he found among the books of the Marsden Library that for seventy years had rested unexplored upon the shelves of King's College.

The story of the Portuguese settlements on the East African coast from Magadoxo down to Sofala and Mozambique, and their wars against the earlier Arab invaders of that coast, has hardly as yet been scientifically explored, though a preliminary study was made some years ago by a German investigator. We know something of their original victories over the Arabs and the establishment of the settlements at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and we know vaguely that in the seventeenth century there was a recrudescence of the Arab power and that the eighteenth century saw the establishment of the Sultanate of Zanzibar by the Arab Imams of Maskat. But the details are shrouded in darkness, and the story of how Portuguese and Arab adventurers strove for the ivory and slave trade of the interior still awaits historical investigation. Its importance is obvious for an understanding of the early conditions in our own Kenya Colony and the adjacent Tanganyika Territory. It is also important from a political point of view. The difficulties of the 'eighties over the possession of Delagoa Bay had to be solved by arbitration after long historical arguments, and it is not at all certain that if there had been closer and more scientific investigation of the facts by trained scholars the result of that arbitration would have been what it was. The problem of the future of the Portuguese colonies in Africa has been a matter of acute political discussion on several occasions during the past forty years, and it is very likely that it will again excite attention as the natural resources of those colonies come to be more fully

developed. There is here an ample and exceedingly interesting historical field waiting to be tilled.

The adjacent island of Madagascar, lying on the opposite shore of the Mozambique Channel, affords an illustration of what patient scholarship can do to reveal the past. To the investigation of the French enterprises in that island in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, political, missionary and commercial, M. Alfred Grandidier and M. Henri Froidevaux have devoted years of research. Their published volumes are of great interest, but their results are far too little known in England, and there has been hardly any investigation of the English activities round the shores of the Mozambique Channel during the same period. We know something of the Assada Association under Charles I and its contests with the East India Company, but it has been studied too much from the Indian angle and not enough as one of a series of long-continued attempts by English merchants to found new trades on the coasts of Africa and Madagascar. In those seas and round the adjacent islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, or, as the Stuart sailors called it, "England's Garland," English, French and Dutch rivalries were constantly recurrent for three centuries, and a definite delimitation of spheres only came with the Anglo-French agreements of the later years of the nineteenth century. But where can one turn for any connected story of those rivalries? Only tantalising glimpses are here and there afforded while one is studying other parts of the story of European expansion, and the pages of Admiral Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power upon History* suffice to show what an important factor in the Anglo-French struggle in the eighteenth century is to be found in the actions round the Mascarenhas. Here again is a field that calls for many properly documented monographs before we can realise all the implications of the story.

To examine at length even a fraction of the opportunities for research afforded by later African history obviously demands much more space than can be found within the limits of a single paper, and only brief reference can be made to some parts of the field wherein work is now being carried out in the Institute of Historical Research and elsewhere. The Dutch contest with the Portuguese for the trade of West Africa and the

subsequent entry of England as a competitor have been little studied. The rivalries of England and France in Senegambia in the late seventeenth century have been investigated by one of my students, Miss Thora Stone, and she has presented her results in a yet unpublished thesis on which the M.A. degree was granted a year or so ago. Miss Stone is continuing her researches and carrying them down into the eighteenth century. In a contribution to the *English Historical Review* she has shown how the earliest exploration of the upper country of the Senegal was accomplished by an English trader during the reign of William III. Miss Eveline P. Martin of East London College was awarded the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society in 1921 for a contribution on "The Organisation of the English Forts and Factories on the Gold Coast in the Eighteenth Century," which is only a summary of her larger unpublished work on the subject. She is carrying her detailed study right down to the abolition of the English Company of Merchants trading to Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and I hope that before long we shall be able to arrange for the publication of her excellent and definitive results. Dr. Zook of Pennsylvania has already published monographs on the earlier history of the Royal African Company and its connection with the Slave Trade. Under the supervision of Miss Donnan the Carnegie Institution of Washington is preparing a selection from the papers of the African Company in the Public Record Office that will facilitate the work of historians on the story of the Slave Trade, which played such an extremely important part in the history of the European peoples for two centuries. There is an immense field awaiting exploration in the history of the trade and its suppression. One of my students who is investigating the practical measures taken by the British Government to enforce the Abolition Act of 1807 has found a new mine of historical material in the printed Reports of the African Institution. For more than twenty years, under the direction of Zachary Macaulay and with the co-operation of the grandfather of our President, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., that organisation laboured unceasingly to further the cause of humanity. The work of the African Institution was closely associated with the establishment of our first free

colony in West Africa, Sierra Leone, and it led on to the founding by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton of the Anti-Slavery Society and its modern descendant, the Aborigines Protection Society, which has had so much influence in African history. The records of these societies have never been fully explored, though they undoubtedly would afford valuable masses of material. We have biographies of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and others of the great philanthropists of the Abolition movement of the early nineteenth century, but there is as yet no definitive history of the movement and its profound influence on British Colonial policy. Before such a history can be produced, properly trained students must undertake a great deal of patient investigation that will lead to the publication of really scientific monographs. It is therefore essential that there shall be team work by a group of students, and I trust that in the Colonial section of the Institute of Historical Research we are seeing the beginning of such a group.

The papers of the Abolition societies must, of course, be studied in intimate relation with the records of the Colonial Office, and closely allied with them there are the records of the great missionary societies. These have been to some extent used by writers on missionary enterprise, but they have hardly been investigated at all from the general point of view of Colonial history. A South African Professor of History during his scanty vacations in England has worked to some extent upon the papers of the Rev. James Philip, who was one of the protagonists in the earlier history of British rule in South Africa. All such work is very difficult, for South African history, since the establishment of British rule, has been packed with controversy and the ashes of old fires are not yet cool. They have long memories in the sub-continent, and much of the history that has been written even in recent years has been coloured by the political prejudices of the writers both on one side and the other. Only investigation among the records of the most impartial and scientific sort can enable historians to cut themselves free of prejudice and deal faithfully with the work of the great founders of modern South Africa and the circumstances under which it was carried out. I shrink even

from the mention of a list of names as possibly implying the taking of sides. But let us omit the names of the more recent actors on the scene. Can anyone deny that before the real history of South Africa can be told the ideas and efforts of men like Hofmeyr and Reitz, Stein and Kruger, Bartle Frere and Loch, Rhodes and Willoughby must be studied with an impartiality that has been lacking from a good deal of the historical work that has so far been published?

How can some measure of impartiality be achieved in the monographs that are an indispensable prelude to the production of a worthy history of South Africa? To such a question no dogmatic answer can be attempted, but I may venture upon an indication of one or two things that seem to me to be necessary. There must be a great deal more research, not among the controversial books and pamphlets of the past, but into the actual historical documents that are becoming available in ever-increasing quantity. Those who engage in such research will find that the actions and motives of statesmen appear more clearly and seem much more natural when they are studied, not in the publications of their panegyrists or detractors, but in their own private letters and despatches as written from day to day. The evolution of their ideas and the fluctuations of their policy to meet changing circumstances can be traced by the investigator of archives in a way that is impossible to the *litterateur* who supplies his frequent lack of knowledge by his fertility of imagination. To search profitably in archives requires a training in historical technique that is usually lacking in the writer of biography, and too much of South African history can still only be read in the biographies of the actors in the struggle. The investigator must not look at his subject as one that was only worked out in South Africa. The history of the sub-continent is in one sense local history, primarily of interest to South Africans, but it is infinitely more than that. It is a vital part not only of the history of the British Empire, but also of world history during the last half-century. The influence of general policy and commitments in guiding the actions of those concerned with the government of South Africa must be studied in a way that has been lacking in the past. Only in close intellectual contact with those who are

working upon other aspects of the history of his time can an investigator preserve a proper sense of proportion and place his subject in its true setting. Such a group of persons engaged in historical research can, as a rule, be found only within the walls of a university, and it seems likely that as the universities come more and more to take up organised post-graduate training in history, as they have already done in Natural Science, it will be from the ranks of their students that the best contributors to our knowledge of the history of Africa will proceed.

ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON.

NGORONGORO, THE GIANT CRATER; AND THE GORILLA, THE GIANT APE¹

(Continued)

IN these days of popular science the absorbing study of the evolution of man engages the attention of most of us. Playing the most important part in that study are the anthropoid apes, amongst which is the gorilla, the largest and in many ways the most interesting, as he (I use the masculine in place of the neuter gender, as I think of these apes as almost human) is the least known of the *Simiidae*.

There are three closely allied species of gorillas. Two West African lowland species of the North Congo forest, the Cameroons and the Gaboon (*Gorilla gorilla* and *Gorilla matschiei*), the third a highland Eastern Congo form of north-west Tanganyika and the mountains and volcanoes of Kivu (*Gorilla beringeri*).

These species differ principally in the measurements and respective broad or narrow formation of the top of the cranium, also in their dentition, and externally in coloration and pelage. A noticeable feature of the Kivu or Eastern Congo species, which has only been brought to the notice of zoologists quite lately through the examination of a specimen of an extremely old male that the writer recently obtained, is the remarkable elongated crown or rather cranial callosity possessed by this gorilla (*Gorilla beringeri*), and in a similar way to the facial callosities of the orang-utan indicating the fully adult male.

The gorilla like the chimpanzi is peculiar to Africa, and as regards his range the Congo River has proved an impassable barrier to this giant ape, and none are found in the forests on the south side of this river. To the east their habitat extends as far as the Ufumbiro or Virunga volcanoes and the

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society, held at the Royal Society of Arts on January 30th, 1923. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 237 of last JOURNAL.

Nile sources near by, and then south again along the western marginal mountains of Lake Kivu and north-west Tanganyika as far as the vicinity of Baraka. The gorilla is therefore essentially a tropical animal, preferring the slopes and ravines of high mountain ranges, and, it may be said, is never found outside the evergreen equatorial forest, although in the remote past it was otherwise, for there are evidences that go to prove that the archaic gorilla, as well as man himself, came into Africa from Asia.

The West African gorilla was originally discovered by American missionaries in the late 'forties, and afterwards became more generally known by the accounts and descriptions of the French naturalist, Paul du Chaillu, which made such a furore in the 'sixties. It was not, however, until many years afterwards, 1902 to be exact, that the Eastern Congo species was brought to light by a German traveller, Oscar Beringer by name, who made a journey into the north Kivu region and there shot the first specimen, which is to be seen in the British Museum of Natural History in Cromwell Road.

The two West African races doubtless intermingle and may even be found in the same forest, but it seems almost certain, although not actually proved yet, that the east and west or highland and lowland forms do not do so. The former species prefers, and has apparently become accustomed to, such an alpine climate as is found on the high Kivu, and north Tanganyika Rift Valley Mountains, at from 7000 to 10,000 feet above the sea. As the equatorial forest extends all the way between the habitat of both species, there is, therefore, only a barrier of elevation and lack of certain foods—bamboo shoots being the staple food of the highland gorilla, and bamboo only grows at high elevations. In my own opinion, and I have spent many months there, no gorillas are to be found to-day anywhere in the Aruwimi or Ituri Valleys, although the very large lowland Congo chimpanzi may be mistaken for such, even in photographs of dead animals and from descriptions given by natives. I have examined many dozens of ape skulls in the villages of the Aruwimi and Ituri regions, but all were of chimpanzis.

As regards his food the gorilla is very conservative, and never so happy as when in his favourite haunt of a forest of bamboos munching the succulent ground shoots or climbing over the bamboo stems, upon which he is in the habit of making a platform on which to take a sun bath. Speaking from a special knowledge of the Eastern Congo gorilla, it may be said that its food consists, apart from bamboo shoots, entirely of herbage—docks, sorrels, hemlocks, etc., although honey may be part of the menu. He does not grub for roots to any extent, neither does he eat fruit as far as my observation goes. These facts concerning his diet are borne out by my examination of the stomachs of several animals I have shot and of accumulated “droppings.” The latter resemble those of a horse.

Non-arboreal in habits, this monster ape seldom climbs trees, his hands, but especially his feet, not being formed for this purpose. He can, however, walk over—a curious feat—a bamboo forest as if it were an aerial meadow. This effect is given when the hunter, looking out from some high vantage point across a flat sea of waving bamboo tops in search of his quarry, and, if he is lucky, sees it in bobbing black heads and huge arms stretching out amidst the greenery.

As a fully grown gorilla is an animal of enormous strength and herculean proportions, he is a match for any enemy; he could, for instance, break a lion's neck or forearm with the greatest ease, and such small fry as leopards he treats with the utmost scorn. Savage man, through superstition as much as anything else, but also on account of the inaccessibility of the gorilla's mountain home, has left this ape unmolested; we therefore find him and his family habitually and fearlessly sleeping on the ground.

In the densely forested mountains of the equatorial forests rain-storms are of almost daily occurrence, so that unless sleeping quarters are selected with some care, the gorilla finds himself lying in a puddle from the water draining off his thick and hairy coat. Thus it is we find this very human animal, if there is no hollow or overhanging tree handy, either scraping a hole for himself which he lines with fern or leaves, upon which he sits, or forming a similar “nest” in the middle of



A LARGE MALE KIVU GORILLA LAID OUT FOR SKINNING. ITS ENORMOUS BULK AND POWER IS WELL EXEMPLIFIED IN COMPARISON WITH THE TWELVE NATIVES IN THE BACKGROUND.

[To face page 280.

a clump of bamboos, so that in either case he will not be sleeping in a puddle.

A solitary male or "old man" gorilla may sometimes be found alone, having been beaten and thrown out by a younger and stronger rival, but more often than not gorillas go about in small family parties of six or eight. Father and mother gorilla only will then make "nests" for themselves, whilst the others—young ones of different ages—will huddle around them to keep warm, the youngest of all sitting close to its mother's breast.

From the illustration I am giving with this article a good idea can be gained of the animal's pelage and proportions, making it unnecessary for me to go further into these matters. Suffice it to say that the large patch of silver-grey fur covering the back of the adult male gorilla is the most remarkable part of his coloration; the female is entirely black. This greyness extends in a less pronounced fashion along the back of the legs and the head, which show, in the West African races at any rate, a red-brown coloration, intermixed with the grey. This reddish coloration of the head may have some significance as a precursor of red-haired man.

In spite of exaggerated accounts which I have before me of Mr. Howard Ross's supposed discoveries in Sierra Leone of a nine-foot gorilla, I am quite certain that these splendid apes never attain a standing height of more than seven feet—if that! The largest one shot by the writer measured six feet two inches from heel to crown, and I believe it to be a record measurement. The girth of chest sometimes reaches to a little over sixty inches. The span (and reach) of the tremendous arms is very great, eight feet being quite usual in a fine male—whilst the forearm and biceps may reach to nineteen inches.

The gorilla, shunning observation at all times, is of a silent, morose and even phlegmatic disposition. He seldom utters a sound unless thoroughly alarmed, and then his screaming roar is quite terrifying. When interested and curious he utters a loud whine like a great dog, following this by a resonant "clopping" made by beating the closed hand on the bare chest below the nipples. Apart from using this beating of the chest to frighten away an intruder, it seems to be made

both as a danger signal and to locate each other's whereabouts, and also, I think, to "hearten" themselves, for I have heard it when there was no possibility of the animals being alarmed. In the course of a long experience of these apes and many weeks spent in observing them in their haunts, I have never heard them utter a sound at night and not often in the daytime: by which I judge that they are not of a quarrelsome disposition, the exact opposite to chimpanzis or the baboons. I found open wounds from fighting on the crest of only one of the old males I shot; they were apparently teeth-marks, and this same animal, by the way, had several big boils in different parts of his body, especially on the glands of one armpit.

A post-mortem examination I made on several animals revealed the body as entirely free from visible internal parasites (there were none externally). The vermiform appendix I found to be of remarkable length and size, the genitalia exceedingly small for such a large animal, almost one might say atrophied, and in this respect differing largely from the chimpanzi, which has well-developed generative organs.

The eyes of the younger Kivu gorillas have a yellow iris and are very noticeable in the black and wrinkled visage. These younger ones have also very little sense of danger. I have, for instance, looked at a group of them (looking for all the world like a lot of pot-bellied teddy bears), when the older ones were absent, for the space of quite half a minute at a distance of only a few yards before they would turn and run to their parents. The whole troop never went far when alarmed or even when fired at. Neither their sense of smell, their hearing nor their sight seems strongly developed.

Of the great apes the chimpanzi, the orang-utan, and the gorilla, the latter is thought to be the least intelligent of the three so far as the study of the live animal goes; the study of them, however, is far from being complete, as the gorilla, in my opinion merely through faulty treatment by their keepers at the Zoos, and through uncongenial environment, has never long survived in captivity, but with one notable exception.

This exception, as it happens, places an entirely new light on our estimate of the mind of the gorilla, for it deals with

the most interesting animal I have ever known or seen inside or outside a menagerie. He was John Daniel, Gentleman Gorilla of Sloane Street, London, and Major R. Penny and Miss Cunningham, his master and mistress, as well as his playmates and trainers. His record is quite a remarkable one and is in fact well known to many Londoners.

Purchased originally for £60, I believe, by Hamlyn from a Frenchman in West Africa, Derry and Toms bought him for £300 as an attraction at their Kensington shop. Not doing well, and becoming sick, he was offered for sale, and my friend Major Penny bought him from them when sick for the same figure. Under the Major's tuition and sympathy and that of his aunt, Miss Cunningham, this young two-year-old gorilla speedily became an extraordinarily interesting inmate of the household, and developed an intelligence of the first rank and every bit equal to that of a chimpanzi or orang-utan. When I had the pleasure of making John's acquaintance in 1920, he was sleeping on a camp bed in Major Penny's room beneath blankets that he put over or took off himself just the same as you or I. He was scrupulously clean in his habits, and acted in this respect in the same manner as the other members of Major Penny's family. He could unhasp and open the window, open the door or shut it when told to, and put on the electric light. He could drink out of teacups and put them back carefully on the tray, and many other intelligent things besides. But sympathy and friendship were as life to John Daniel, and in the end his eventual purchasers, Messrs. Barnum and Bailey, lost him through a broken heart, for his friends had to leave him after he was sold, and considering himself deserted and friendless, he pined and died, a few weeks after his delivery at the menagerie in America.

To take the hunting of these great apes, no one with a spark of feeling can free himself from the thought that killing them is akin to murder. They are so very human and interesting, the young ones so unsuspecting of danger, the older ones so full of curiosity, that hunting them can hardly be termed sport. Owing, however, to the native tales one hears of their ferocity and even carnivorous habits, the tyro approaches them with caution, his imagination alight at the thought

that they will attack him on the slightest provocation. Adding to this the undoubted menacing look of the older animals, their gigantic size and strength, the hunter is perhaps to be pardoned if he exaggerates the danger their chase entails. The gorilla is, however, a great bluffer, and if he can't frighten you away by his uncanny screaming roars or by the beating of his great chest, he usually leaves it at that—he is certainly not looking for trouble.

Native superstition, so easily aroused, is accountable for the bad name the Ngaghi, to give it its native name, possesses. Natives attribute all kinds of horrible practices to this inoffensive giant. To mention two of them, they will, for instance, tell you that the gorilla lies in wait along forest tracks and will pounce on the unsuspecting wayfarer, first breaking his arms and legs, and having killed him will then bury the body for some days before eating it. Then, again, they have been credited with carrying off women and children from the fields and mutilating them in a horrible manner.

Authenticated cases of gorillas attacking man are rare. I mention one instance, however, for, like an elephant going *must*, gorillas will become dangerous at times, probably through wounds or old age, or, as occurred in this instance, through being themselves attacked.

This exciting affair, of which the following is an account, occurred during my recent visit to Lake Kivu, and curiously enough at a place called Katana near the western shore of the Lake, where gorillas had never before been encountered as far as is known, either by white men or by the Bahavu natives inhabiting the region.

It appears that a heavily forested spur of the Rift Valley Mountains runs down towards Lake Kivu behind the Mission station of the White Fathers at Katana, cutting into a grove of bananas planted there, which place early one morning became the scene of a terrific fight between an enormous "old man" gorilla and half-a-dozen natives. The account given me by the Father Superior of the Mission, to whose hospital the three wounded men were afterwards brought, relates that the owner of the banana grove, greatly to his astonishment, surprised a small band of gorillas, headed by

the huge beast in question, raiding the plantation. Not realising the danger, but intent on saving his crops, he quickly collected a few friends, and arming themselves only with heavy sticks they attempted to drive out the marauders. When attacked the troop scattered with the exception of the big male, who stood his ground, and as the natives by this time had their blood up a great fight ensued. The big gorilla caught one of the natives, and it seems fairly pulled him to bits, and the others, hoping to save him, were in turn badly bitten. When it was too late reinforcements arrived in the shape of a man who owned a spear, and with this they managed between them to dispatch the infuriated beast.

To give an experience that happened to myself on my last expedition to Kivu: on this occasion I had followed a troop of gorillas into the alpine meadows to be found between the summits of the two volcanoes of Mikeno and Karisimbi to the north-east of Lake Kivu. On either side are steep ravines and ridges, amongst which I eventually came up to the animals, but as these were all females and young they were of no interest to me. Walking on to look for the big male that I felt sure was somewhere about, I presently found myself standing on the top of a steep ridge with a ravine on either side of me. Continuing my search, along this I was approaching a mass of *lobelia*, within which I suddenly became aware of a violent commotion, and the foliage parting, out stepped the most magnificent "old man" gorilla it has ever been my luck to see, and stood listening not fifteen paces away from where I stood. A second afterwards it seemed this astonishing apparition caught sight of me, and the transformation was surprising, for with great suddenness and just balancing himself with his huge arms thrust forward, his body half raised, his hair fairly bristling and his ugly fangs bared, he whipped out a roar of malediction and hatred and with this leapt towards me.

I must say I scarcely expected such an onslaught; raising my rifle, however, I took aim and pressed the trigger. . . . The only sound that came to my waiting ears at that moment was the metallic click of a misfire, unhappily not the reassuring crack of a good charge of cordite. Throwing out the offending cartridge, the next thing I realised was that the beast was

turning a complete somersault in front of me, for in his rage at being disturbed, and in his haste to rid both himself and the ridge of my company, he had tripped on a stout *liana* or root, and the last I saw of him was a grey and black mass rolling down the side of the ravine.

In conclusion, let me add that the great apes now living are of little use to-day except for the sole purpose of science, and for this reason it is well they should be rigorously protected. The last word has by no means been written concerning them, their lives may still hide clues to our past. The science of genetics or somatogenics with regard to them has scarcely been touched on, and perhaps one day some future President of the British Association, or some great medical specialist, may yet evolve for us a cross-bred ape-man from a pygmy-chimpanzi strain—a real Tarzan of the Apes! Who knows?

T. ALEXANDER BARNS.

SOME NATIVE PROBLEMS IN EASTERN AFRICA ¹

PART II

Registration of Natives.

THIS is a somewhat contentious subject and more will probably be heard of it, but if the question is temperately and fairly considered there can be no reason for avoiding it.

This measure is not unique to Kenya Colony, but has been in existence in South Rhodesia for many years and in its present form since 1913. During a recent visit to that country I was assured that it worked smoothly and without causing undue irritation, and I attach some weight to that opinion, for I can assure you that the administrative and native affairs staff in that country have the interests of the native deeply at heart. In Rhodesia registration is accompanied by a Pass Law. Nyasaland, Uganda, and Tanganyika, on the other hand, appear to progress without native registration.

The registration of natives was introduced in Kenya Colony in 1915, and the Ordinance was apparently based on that of South Rhodesia, but there is no Pass Law in Kenya. Registration in Kenya was, however, not very actively organised until about 1920, when an expensive department was built up quite in excess of what the country could afford.

The measure was frankly imposed in the interest of the European employer of labour, and the justification for such drastic legislation may reasonably be sought.

The reply is that native labour is extremely capricious, and that quite irrespective of any harsh treatment it is liable to desert even if pay due at the time is sacrificed. A colonist incurs great expense in importing labour from a distance, and after a short time some of the men become discontented and desert without warning. Employers, of course, vary

¹ This paper was read at a Meeting of the African Society, held at the Royal Society of Arts on February 22nd, 1923. For report of other proceedings on this occasion see p. 240 of last JOURNAL.

as regards their ability to retain labour, but some classes of work are more arduous than others, and men were wont to leave a place where the work was not congenial and go off to another estate where they believed conditions were easier. The fact is that the African labourer has rarely reached the stage when he has any conception of the sanctity of a contract, and owing to this failure he may be said to have induced the imposition of this remedy by his own lapses which have driven the employer to distraction. The appeal for relief by the farmers and planters persuaded Government to approve of this measure.

The Ordinance decrees that every male native over sixteen years of age in any district to which it is applied shall register himself, and he is then supplied with an identification certificate and so forth.

Employers also have their liabilities; they must register their employees, they must endorse certificates on discharge, furnish returns, and so on; they are also liable to penalties for failure to carry out the provisions.

Apparently if a registered native deserts from his employment, all the employer has to do is to report the matter to the nearest police officer, and although desertion is not mentioned in the Ordinance, the police take up the matter and search for any native who has not his certificate endorsed as discharged. All offences under the Ordinance are cognisable to the police; thus when an employer is summoned to appear to identify his employee, he becomes a Crown witness and can claim to have his expenses paid by the Colony.

There is, of course, a Masters and Servants Ordinance in force which provides for breaches of contract, but since the introduction of the Registration Law it has become more convenient to deal with such cases as breaches of that Ordinance, a procedure which seems hardly appropriate in a legal sense.

Up to the middle of 1922 about 400,000 natives had been registered, and nearly 75 per cent. of the deserters from service were traced, out of a total of some 4500. In addition some 2300 natives were convicted of breaches of the Ordinance, and 2000 other offenders were traced through its operation. The native labour employed in Kenya may be said to approxi-

mate to 100,000, therefore roughly $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. deserted. The percentage of desertion before the introduction of registration was not recorded, but it was undoubtedly much higher.

The defenders of the registration policy include, of course, nearly all the colonists; the administrative officers are divided, some uphold it, others are averse to it. Its defenders claim that the possession of the certificate is a thing the decent native is proud of; that it is a badge of respectability; can be no more a grievance than the passport regulations are to a European; that if a native falls sick he can be readily identified by his certificate; that it is a safeguard to the law-abiding. Also that previous to the introduction of the "pax Britannica" no native could safely leave his own tribal area, and that therefore it is no hardship to ask him to carry a certificate of identification when he does so with safety to-day.

The administrative and police officers who support it do so on the ground that it facilitates the detection of crime.

The natives as a whole resent the Ordinance, and it is one of the grievances which is cunningly exploited by agitators of the Thuku type.

They object to being stopped, even in their reserves, by a policeman and arrested because they fail to be carrying their certificate. They resent being arrested, say, at one end of the country and sent to the other to appear in a court there, as sometimes happens; they may eventually be discharged, but in the meantime have suffered confinement for a fortnight or more; such cases are of course rare, but have occurred.

They object to the class legislation, for they see that Europeans and Asiatics are not so treated.

They have already, it is said, contemplated action on the lines of mass refusal to carry their certificates, and of course if they take this course registration is doomed from that day; for the sake of Government prestige it is to be hoped that this line of action will not be pursued. It was recently alleged in the press, that one of the causes of the Masai trouble was resentment against registration.

I fully recognise the annoyance and loss experienced owing to desertions, and have often deeply sympathised with cases which have come to my notice, but at the same time I frankly

confess that I dislike the principle of registration, and apart from that point, it is a burdensome business for both employer and employed and costs the country a very considerable sum.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to devise any alternative scheme which would have the same effect, and that is the difficulty before any Governor who is inclined to withdraw the measure.

As in all laws, a great deal of course depends on how it is administered, and if the executive, the police, and the colonists can co-operate to prevent the occurrence of hard cases and can popularise the application of the measure so that resentment against it dies away, it will prove a great triumph.

As this legislation has been devised mainly to assist the employers of labour, it would appear reasonable that the employer should bear the cost of it, and it seems to me that this could be best achieved by a small monthly tax upon every contract under the Master and Servant Ordinance. If, for instance, it was laid down that a 25-cent stamp should be affixed each month to the contract form on the principle of the Insurance stamps in England, the cost of the Registration Department would be covered.

Education.

The education of the native is a subject which is widely discussed and is one upon which divergent views naturally exist. One school, which I am very glad to say has very few adherents, is frankly opposed to native education, considering that the people are best left in their primitive ignorance, as they are then more amenable, but, perhaps as a concession to public opinion, agrees to the introduction of some measure of technical training.

Such views, however, omit to take cognisance of the facts as they exist to-day; they can be at once classed as the opinions of a short-sighted type of European employer.

As Lord Selborne has so pertinently expressed it: "The very moment a native comes into contact with a white man his education has begun—when he lives on a farm, when he comes into domestic service, say on the Rand. Then his education goes on with a vengeance, and if that is the only

education he receives, who will believe that the native uneducated and unguided will pick up anything but what is bad? "

Of course he picks up a deal of useful knowledge as well, but it is well known that the bad features are likely to appeal more to one in his stage of culture than the good points; the degrading influence of our towns is also well known and we cannot avoid some collective responsibility for it.

It is therefore evident that it is incumbent upon the white man to neutralise the bad effects of contact with civilisation by the introduction of educative measures designed to counteract them, and at the same time make the native a more valuable factor of the community. The native himself, moreover, has something to say on the subject, for in his inarticulate fashion he is expressing his aspirations in that direction, and there is at present a very widespread desire for some form of literary education.

If one took the trouble to ascertain the origin of these aspirations the replies would vary; many undoubtedly imagine that education would in some way obviate the necessity of hard manual labour; a few, but very few, are genuinely in thirst of knowledge; many are prompted to acquire the art of reading and writing in order to write to their friends in the reserves when they themselves are out at work; some are influenced by mission youths with whom they have come into close contact. There is, generally speaking, much evidence that it has since the war become the fashion among thousands of native young men to endeavour to learn to read and write, and doubtless once they have mastered the rudiments of these arts the majority consider that they have done with it.

Education as we construe it is a conception beyond the ken of the mass of natives; it is none the less necessary, therefore, that we must do the thinking out of the matter.

Schools for native children are, according to my experience, as a rule, disappointing institutions; the native soon gets tired of the drudgery, this being largely due to the uninspiring nature of his instruction; and further, the parental discipline which supports that of the schoolmaster in Europe is lacking; thus when attendance becomes irregular the parents rarely

check slackness; the present generation of parents are also apt to grudge the time spent at school and consider that their boys would be better employed herding the goats, and lastly they are rarely keen to pay for instruction. The education of native children is too generally entrusted to half-educated native youths without imagination and absolutely ignorant of the aims of the science. The present demand for reading and writing I have described already is mainly confined to youths who are, so to speak, out in the world. Education must, however, begin during the period of adolescence, and in a few years the youths of to-day who are anxious to learn something will be the fathers of a new generation, and will be keen upon their children receiving some teaching.

The cost of supplying an efficient elementary education to the children of a black population of several millions must naturally be great, and its cost will for a long time be beyond the resources of any colony with a small population of Europeans and an overpowering population of blacks; all the latter, generally speaking, being very poor. In fact it may be accepted that the scope of the education facilities will mainly depend on what the blacks themselves can pay for. This being so, it would appear that, apart from isolated philanthropic efforts, the effective education of the masses will be slow.

Take the problem as it stands in Kenya to-day; the native population is about two and a half millions, it may be therefore estimated that the children of school age number half a million, say a quarter million of each sex. The numbers appal one, and it is all the more necessary to endeavour to devise a scheme by which the available funds can be laid out to the best advantage.

The education policy at present in vogue in this colony appears to be that of concentrating effort on a limited number of youths by the aid of the indenture system—a system of apprenticeship under which the parent agrees to indenture his son for a period of five years for the purpose of education. By this means continuity of attendance is assured, for desertion becomes an offence against the law.

In this way nearly 800 youths are undergoing a mixed literary and technical education, mostly at assisted mission schools—

the main object of this training being to turn out artisans, carpenters, masons and such like. This is all very desirable, but it is surely very limited in outlook.

In addition to the effort above mentioned the numerous missions are doing their best to impart an elementary literary education to many others, the result varying with the means, and above all varying with the breadth of outlook of the various societies. I do not desire to decry any of these efforts, but do wish to emphasise that there is one fundamental fact which must never be lost sight of in Africa, and that is that the overwhelming majority of African natives must live on and live by the soil; it therefore seems obvious that the education provided should above all stimulate the interest of the rising generation in the potentialities of their own land, and that they should be instructed how to increase the output from it, not only of food to consume but of products for export. I venture to complain that few of the schools appear to realise this necessity to any appreciable extent. How many of the mission-trained teachers have any outlook in this direction? They have neither the interest nor the knowledge, and according to my experience the result of such native education as is obtainable rather tends to divorce the recipients from the soil and fill them with a hankering for urban life.

It would be absurd to decry the teaching of the three R's, but, as regards natives, I look upon them mainly as media through which instruction in the *things that matter* can be imparted.

The things which matter are, to my mind, the following :—

(1) The improvement of character, the inculcation of discipline, obedience and honesty, right ideas of life and duty.

(2) Training in the better use of the soil and the better care of domestic animals.

(3) The improvement of home life and manner of living. Better houses, better ways of utilising the raw materials at hand.

(4) The care of life and health, the virtue of cleanliness, sanitation and pure water supply.

(5) Training in the healthy employment of leisure time, healthy recreations.

Most of this training is, I maintain, well-nigh independent of literary education.

The town dwellers and labour employed on estates will need special treatment and the problem is one of some difficulty, as only limited time is available, but a great deal could be done for these young men through attractive evening classes, educational cinema films (in the towns), and an adaptation of the Boy Scout movement to teach good behaviour and obedience; organised games too will have a good effect.

The amount spent on native education is, as in most colonies, lamentably small; the native hut and poll tax in Kenya amounts to about £500,000 and the Native Education vote is about £24,000, or say 5 per cent. of the revenue the natives contribute. The same amount, viz. £24,000, is spent on the few hundred European children in the Colony. It may be of interest to note that, in the Union of South Africa, about £328,000 is spent on native education out of a poll tax of £822,000. I claim that at least one-fifth of the tax revenue should be devoted to native education, and even that amount would not nearly suffice to put education within the reach of all the children of school age.

Until the Colony, however, sees matters in this light, it is exceptionally important that the present small vote should be spent as rationally as possible, and a great deal can be done if the local government will found an efficient normal school in which picked natives can be trained on modern lines and then sent out into the reserves to run elementary village schools. A great deal can be done, too, with the active co-operation of the various technical departments, *e.g.* the railway and P.W.D. should between them, if properly supported, be able to turn out a supply of skilled artisans sufficient for the Colony; the agricultural department should train a steady supply of agricultural instructors for the native areas; the forest department could train a number of youths and instruct them in reafforestation; the medical department could train a supply of young men and women who would bring better conceptions of public health and medical treatment into the reserves. Incidentally I believe that widespread instruction in the causes of disease would do more than anything to undermine

the practice of witchcraft, which is rife to-day in many parts.¹

One of the most important duties of Government in this connection is to train the sons of chiefs and headmen to fit them for their future duties, and through their influence and example lead the masses.

These functionaries must be taught to fit the age in which they live, and their education must be very thorough. If this is done, the benefit to their people and to the State will be incalculable, for with educated leaders some real co-operation between black and white can be initiated, and it is only true racial co-operation that will save Africa from turmoil.

The new generation of leaders must be taught their duty to their people and to the State, to obey and so to govern, the value of probity, and a sense of responsibility. The vital necessity of agricultural method and the groundwork of the science of public health must be impressed upon them by precept and example in order that they may lead a renaissance in the reserves.

It is also, I submit, essential that Government should devote attention to the training of an adequate number of African youths for the civil service of the country, not only more clerks, although these are badly needed, but young men of the better classes who can be trained to assist Commissioners in the native areas; for apart from the great benefit of participation in the administration of their own people, the procedure will check the tendency towards indefinite expansion of an expensive European staff.

The higher training of the sons of chiefs and of native civil servants should, I consider, be kept in the hands of the State, and therefore be entirely unsectarian, for reasons upon which it is not necessary to enlarge.

¹ Efforts are in progress in some of these directions, for the railway, the P.W.D. and the post office have during the last few years wisely devoted considerable attention to native technical education, and with good results. An account of these activities was recently given by Mr. J. Gosling in an article in *The Field*, March 1st, 1923, entitled "Native Development in Kenya."

Of all the tribes the Kavirondo appear to exhibit the greatest desire for cultural improvement, and the development of these people in every direction during the last twenty-five years is remarkable, and augurs well for the future, for from being among the most backward they are now the most progressive.

To successfully carry out all this will require European teachers of character, great sympathy and original ideas.

To sum up: the whole object of the education of the black must be to enable those whom it touches to adjust themselves to the environment in which they have to live—to induce them to improve their surroundings, to get more out of their land than in the past, to live amicably with their neighbours, to be loyal to their chiefs or headmen, and so to the State; to develop a civic sense, *i. e.* to give willing service for the benefit of the community, to be sober and cleanly, and at the same time it should not result in contempt for kith and kin and restless wanderings into the towns.

A great programme, it will be said, but a reasonable one all must admit. A steady increase in the material prosperity of the natives can only be achieved by these means and without minimising in any way the efforts of the European colonists; the future prosperity of the Colony hinges to a great extent on the success of this policy, and further, the richer the native community becomes the more it will be able to contribute towards its education.

A word about the language question. As regards the mass of the population I am inclined to consider Swahili as the best medium, it is the most widespread native language and an adaptable tongue easily learnt by both black and white. As regards those who will become chiefs and headmen, they should, I consider, be taught English in order that they may become conversant with Government orders and legislation, may keep their books in English and correspond in English with their Commissioners and the colonists.

English will spread gradually, but artificial attempts to increase its use will only militate against instruction in other things more important.

It is sometimes urged that an increase of native production will damage the prospects of European colonists by reducing the labour supply; this fear is, however, not supported by experience in South Africa and Rhodesia, for there it has been found out that the more intelligently the natives work their own land the better for the country at large, and the question hinges to a great extent on the general adoption of simple

agricultural machinery which will alter the whole aspect of native agriculture. Unskilled and ignorant native labour is never cheap; the more intelligent it becomes the better for the colonist—this is a truism.

General.

I have endeavoured to present the position with regard to some of the main native problems in Kenya Colony, not so much with the object of endeavouring to interest you in the affairs of that Colony, but because they will be found to be more or less typical of those of many of our African dependencies to-day.

The pre-eminent question is that of the land, for once any damage is done in the direction of undue restriction of area it will be well-nigh impossible to retrieve. I would therefore venture to strongly urge that the question of the native lands be finally taken out of the purview of local politics by some measure such as I have suggested; injudicious proposals frequently crop up, such as the excision of native areas in the vicinity of the railway line, the moving back of reserve boundaries and so forth, and these only unsettle the natives and do harm.

It is essential that it be realised that the few thousand Europeans who settle in Africa and acquire a vote either by leasing or buying a piece of land, or by working on a salary in a town, cannot thereby automatically acquire the right to decide the destinies of the black indigenous population. That, say, 2000 Europeans voters should be in a position to dictate the fate of 2½ million natives is unthinkable, and the only security of the latter in vital matters is the public opinion of the British nation.

I would venture to invite attention to the fact that in a country which has recently advanced to the stage of self-government, viz. South Rhodesia, the British Government, through its High Commissioner, explicitly reserves to itself the right of veto in all native questions.

Among other provisions it is definitely laid down, in the draft Constitution, Bills to be classed as reserved for the signification of the Royal pleasure are as follows: "Any

law save in the respect of the supply of arms, ammunition and liquor—whereby natives may be subjected or made liable to any conditions, disabilities or restrictions to which persons of European descent are not subjected.”

“The Order in Council 1920, whereby the native reserves were vested in the High Commissioner and set apart for the sole and exclusive use of the native inhabitants, shall continue in full force and effect, and no portion of those lands shall be alienated except for the purpose authorised by the said Ordinance, and then only in exchange for suitable land.”

These provisions are a definite indication of the policy of the Crown, and it is unlikely that any political party in England will ever tamper with the principles they lay down.

Considerable damage may, however, occur in countries where matters have not become as concrete as in South Rhodesia; a land office pushed to provide farms for incoming colonists may persuade a native commissioner, anxious for popularity, to agree to recommend excision of an area of native land not being actively utilised at present. A Governor might even be persuaded that no harm would ensue, and eventually the Secretary of State's sanction might be obtained. I do not assert that this is often likely to happen, but it is not impossible, and there is little doubt that the time has come when any chance of its occurrence should cease, both in the interest of the future needs of the natives and also of native peace.

With regard to native taxation, if this is kept at a low level it will benefit the colonists as much as the natives, and if it is divided into two heads, as suggested, the policy would do much to remove from the political field the vexed question of whether an adequate proportion of the State revenue is being spent on the natives in return for the contribution the natives make to the total income of the country.

There is one question which I have not touched on before, and that is the provision of medical attention for the native population. There is a general idea that the prolific reproductive nature of the black races is such that nothing can stop the increase, once peace has been assured. This argument can, I am convinced, be over-pressed. From long observation I am of opinion that many of the tribes of Kenya have deterio-

rated physically during the last twenty-five years, and particularly so in the last eight years. In the first place the prevalence of peace has, I think, led to a relaxation of the strictness of the conditions under which the young men previously lived, and this has done much to undermine the stamina of the present generation; then, again, from 1914 onwards a series of epidemics have occurred which have swept off large numbers of young men. Finally, the war decimated the picked male youth of the country, ruined the health of many more, and the survivors took back into their reserves an increase of malarial and dysenteric infection.

The net result of all this is a serious lowering of the standard of native health and stamina, and the position is one of some gravity; in addition, the infantile death-rate is still as high as ever.

It has been generally admitted that systematic medical measures are necessary, but it is to be feared that the drastic economies which have recently taken place have postponed most of the well-conceived proposals. The question is, however, a vital one to the native races, and, moreover, to the colonists who are dependent on a labour supply for success. I do not wish to pose as an alarmist, but it is quite within the bounds of possibility that a general lowering in the standard of vitality might result in a steady decrease of native population, and if such did occur the Colony would be slowly ruined. I would remind you that, in spite of the alleged prolific nature of the African, the population of the Belgian Congo was reduced between 1890 and 1910 to probably a quarter of what it was at the earlier date, by disease and bad management, so it can occur. The effect of a certain disease in Uganda Kingdom may also be quoted, for it has caused the population to decrease, long after the sleeping sickness has ceased to be a menace. May I therefore express a hope that this question of native health may receive systematic attention at an early date.

It may possibly be urged that this review is tinged with an undue regard for the natives to the neglect of the interests of the white colonists, but such is not the case. I have the greatest admiration for my fellow-countrymen who have with

unbounded perseverance succeeded in establishing flourishing plantations and pleasant homes in Kenya, and their efforts cannot but command respect. I believe that the general effect of their contact with the natives has been educative, and many of them are highly respected by their native employees. At the same time, however, a section of the colonists is undoubtedly inclined to take a somewhat one-sided view of the relations of white and black.

The championship of the native cause depends too much upon the powers of advocacy of the missionaries and officials; there is as yet little sign of a non-official native party equivalent to that which was built up in South Africa by Sir J. Rose-Innes, W. P. Schreiner, J. H. Hofmeyr, F. S. Malan and others.

It produces a contentious atmosphere when support on native matters mainly has to come from the Government side of the legislative chamber. This, I maintain, is undesirable, and I think that, until the distant day when native representation is possible, native affairs should be kept out of local politics as much as possible; there should be, however, complete frankness on the part of the executive with regard to its policy.

It is not to be inferred that the relations between black and white in Kenya are bad; on the contrary, the colonists there are generally speaking of a very good type and their treatment of their native employees is, on the whole, humane and just. I also believe that the colonists are year by year devoting more thought to the future of the black races and the establishment of equitable relations between the two sections of the community. In spite of occasional reactionary expressions of opinion, in the local press and in public speeches, there is every hope of the growth of a proper spirit on this matter.

I will express my hopes for the permanent success of European colonisation in Africa, and I do not hold with some that it is incompatible with native development; but a contented and at the same time a progressive native population will ever prove a necessity to success, and content and progress can only be obtained by a faithful regard of their rights and by consistent guidance of their steps in the path of prosperity. The natives cannot be maintained as helots, but if they are given due scope

for the realisation of their legitimate aspirations they will co-operate in building up a great and successful colony; it is, I consider, imperative that they be allowed to materially participate in the success of the Colony and not kept merely as wage-earners for a higher race.

The future policy cannot, therefore, be dictated by the immediate material needs of one section; the power responsible for the destiny of the black millions must view the question from the point of practical ethics if disaster is to be avoided. It should now be obvious to all that black Africa can no longer be held by force, and that its peaceful future solely depends on close and honest co-operation between the governments concerned, the white colonists (be they farmers, missionaries or merchants), and the blacks themselves, and the aim of all must be to bring this ideal into practical effect.

My excuse for venturing on these debatable topics is that I have watched the development of the country from its early days and yield to none in my affection for it. I have seen the difficulties of both sides, and may therefore justly claim to be able to view the whole question without rancour and in an unbiased spirit.

C. W. HOBLEY.

THE DRUM LANGUAGE OF WEST AFRICA¹

PART II

THE SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE DRUM LANGUAGE

It is with a feeling almost akin to regret that I turn to the above aspect of the subject, because it will be necessary to destroy some of the romance which want of exact knowledge has draped, like a magic cloak, over this question.

What has so far been described is in reality, however, far more wonderful, and, I trust, will in some measure recompense us for what may be a certain sad disillusionment that we may now undergo.

It is proposed first to discuss the probable range of the Drum language. One never ceases to hear wonderful accounts of how this or that item of news has been conveyed over immense tracts of this continent by means of drums.

Only a few days ago I read in the *Times* how a resident in one part of Africa heard of the death—in another and far remote part of the continent—of a European baby, and how this news was carried by means of drums, which were used, it was stated, on “the Morse principle”—it is always “the Morse principle.” Other items of news of an interesting, if of a less domestic nature, *e. g.* that recorded in the beginning of this paper, are also often reported.

In the Cameroons, and elsewhere than Ashanti, a different system may just possibly prevail, and the scope of the Drum language be greatly enlarged. As I have heard exactly similar unsubstantiated stories in Ashanti, however, I much doubt if many of these accounts would survive the cold critical light of careful scientific investigation.

The explanation of many of these legends possibly lies no

¹ This paper (illustrated by phonographic records) was read at a Meeting of the Society held at the Royal Society of Arts on March 21st, 1923, when Sir Lawrence Wallace occupied the Chair. For report of Meeting see p. 322.

deeper than in the story of an intercepted or belated delivery of a telegraphic message by a native postal official.

How often in the little village in Scotland where I was brought up have I had the news I was later to receive as the contents of a telegram related to me by one of the villagers—and we have no Drum language in Galloway.

The first limitation I would place on the Drum language is governed by linguistic rather than distance considerations.

Given a uniform linguistic area, stretching uninterruptedly for one hundred, one thousand, or more miles, there is no theoretical or practical reason—provided this area is inhabited with sufficient density—why a Drum message should not be sent from one end of that country to the other, and this in the time that sound will travel, plus a period allowed for re-transmission at different receiving and despatching points, and other incidental delays.

A barrier, however, would seem to be immediately interposed when we come to a new linguistic area.

This barrier may or may not be insurmountable. If the language therein spoken be (1) also a tonic language, (2) have—as it possibly will—a Drum language of its own, and (3) possess a drummer who is bilingual, and so able to receive the message and to retransmit it in the new (but still “tonic”) language, then no real check need in theory exist.

When the language is one that is not a tonic language, however, *e. g.* one of the Bantu or Hamitic groups, we come upon a check that we must assume would probably prevent the re-transmission of our message, and so bring the range of transmission to an end.

I am afraid, therefore, that any transcontinental system of the Drum language must—with our present knowledge—be considered impracticable.

Even with this reservation, however, there is no reason why a message should not be drummed across Ashanti, a distance of some 200 miles from east to west, as rapidly or more so than we could send a telegraphic communication.

The whole of the Ashanti fighting resources could be called up—and in readiness in different centres—from one end of this country to the other, a few hours after a declaration of war, the

summons being contained in the following message: M m f
 m m m f f f m m f, which, put into human speech, sounds
 m m f m m m f f f m m f
 and reads, A-san-te kò-tò-kò-, mo n-ka n-te-a, a message
 which almost every Ashanti man and woman would under-
 stand.¹

On the other hand, a message might, both theoretically and in practice, be impossible of transmission, say, between Kratchi and Salaga, a distance as the crow flies of only about fifty miles, because at Salaga we have a different linguistic area.

Coming next to the scope of the Drum language, meaning by that term the limitations, if any, in the nature of messages, we are on much more difficult ground, and my investigations on this subject are not yet complete.

Theoretically speaking there should be, perhaps, no limitations for the expert drummer as to what he can drum, and just possibly there are none, but—and this appears to be the crux of the whole question—the limitations are very real when it comes to the “reading” of the message.

Anyone who has ever learned to helio, or semaphore, or signal with flags, will readily understand this. It is always easier to transmit than to receive a message.

This difficulty, *i. e.* that of receiving or “reading” a Drum message, must of necessity be very considerable.

The drum only gives the tones, number of syllables, and the punctuation accurately.

The actual vowels and the individual consonants cannot be transmitted.

It is therefore generally impossible to “read” accurately any particular word when standing alone, for a combination of, say a low and a high tone, *i. e.* a word of two syllables, might be common to a dozen words each of which was made up of a low and a high tone, and contained two syllables, but each of which had a different meaning; when such an isolated word—or, in this context, simple combination of two tones—comes

¹ Sometimes elaborated into: Korobia yirifankama Asante kotoko monka ntoa (*i. e.* korobia yirifankama Asante porcupines seize (lit. touch) your powder belts).

to take its place in a phrase or sentence, the combination of tones becomes more complex, and we have thus a series which will be much less likely to be found combined in another phrase having a different meaning; thus the chance of confusion is somewhat reduced, and when it is stated that the repertoire of Ashanti drummers consists of certain holophrases which are in constant use by all drummers, it will be readily understood that they become absolutely familiar with these.

Should a drummer depart, however, from one of these "set pieces" and strike out in his own, drumming at fancy, new phrases, *i. e.* new combination of tones, etc., then, though to himself the drum would still continue to speak, yet, another drummer, who heard these new combinations for the first time, *could not, I am convinced, read his message with any accuracy.*

That is, sender and receiver have both to be *en rapport* and familiar with the pieces drummed.

Thus though the possibilities are almost unlimited in theory, they are very limited indeed as practised in Ashanti.

THE KIND OF MESSAGES DRUMMED

A drummer's stock-in-trade consists of a series of holophrases dealing with all the important subjects which he would be likely to find of practical utility; these include:

- (1) The calling up of any particular chief by name.
- (2) Notice of danger, an enemy, fire, etc.
- (3) Death of a noted individual.
- (4) Approach of European.
- (5) Summons to take up arms on declaration of war.
- (6) And, perhaps most important of all, from our point of view, the pieces drummed at the festivals known as *adae*, which constitute a complete drum-history of the particular clan. An example of such a history is here given.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DRUMS AND THEIR MAKING

There are in Ashanti at least two kinds of drums that "talk." The more important of the two with which we are here concerned are the *Ntumpane*.

The other, the *Fontomfrom* (see illustration), are of quite a different shape from the *Ntumpane*, and are used in a different way, each drum being beaten by its own drummer, in a kind of duet. The *Fontomfrom* drums are used exclusively, I am told, to drum proverbs.

The *Ntumpane* are the talking drums of the Ashanti *par excellence*; the illustration shows a pair, "male" and "female."

Before entering upon a detailed description of these drums, an account of how they are made, and the ceremonial inseparable from their manufacture, will be of interest.

When an Ashanti chief wants a couple of *Ntumpane* or talking drums he will summon the makers (who are not the drummers), and are variously known as *Kyerema Nyang* (the drummer's Nyang) or *Atwenesenfo*, i. e. carvers of the *Tweneboa* tree). Only an Omanhene, Ohene, or Safohene will have the right to have such drums. No queen mother or other women may possess a drum.

The makers are given the order, and at the same time are presented with a fowl,¹ some rum, and gold dust, after which they set off to the forest to look for a suitable tree.

This must be a tree called variously *Tweneboa* or *Tweneduru* (a species of cedar?).

In their animistic creed this tree is regarded as particularly powerful and malignant, its *sunsum* (soul) being, *nye korā*, "not at all good."

The Ashantis say its wood consists of a mixture of many kinds of wood found in other trees.

Having chosen the tree, the workers set about protecting themselves as far as possible from the dangers that now threaten them.

First of all an egg is broken by being thrown against the trunk, and the following words are spoken :

"Me re be twa we m'asen wo, gye kesua yi di, ma me ntumi ntwa wo me nsen, mma dadie ntwa me, mma me nyare."

"I am coming to cut you down and carve you, receive this

¹ A particular kind of fowl (*Asenee*) is always associated with drums; it is the fowl with the curly feathers.

egg and eat, let me be able to cut you and carve you, do not let the iron cut me, do not let me suffer in health."

The rum is poured over the tree, which is then cut down. The fowl is next killed and some of the flesh placed upon the tree stump.

The log is hollowed out in the forest. When this work is completed, rum and an egg are again offered with the words :

"Yē de wo re kō 'fiē e, ma 'fiē nyē yiye."

"We are going to take you to the village, let the village prosper."

When brought to the village yet another offering is made of a fowl and rum with the words :

"Gye akokō ne nsa yi di, yē de wo aba yi, ma kuro yi nyē yiye, mma yē mfa we nyē ayie."

"Partake of this fowl and wine, now that we have brought you, let the village prosper, do not let us have to take you to a funeral."

There still remains to complete the drumming outfit :

- (1) The tense membrane.
- (2) The pegs.
- (3) The rope for binding the skin over the pegs.
- (4) The drum-sticks.
- (5) The two legs or supports.
- (6) The piece of iron to be fastened on the male drum.
- (7) The drum's cloth or dress.
- (8) The hammer for knocking in the pegs.

The tense membrane.—For the *Ntumpane* drums this is invariably made out of the skin of an elephant's ear, preferably a female, the hairy side being outermost.

The skin is cut slightly larger than the size required to cover the mouth of the drum, and then bound on like a jam-pot cover. The edge of the skin is then turned up all round, and through this is laced the creeper or rope (*bofunu*).

By hammering in or loosening the pegs, the skin is tightened or relaxed, and it is by this ingenious method that the drums are tuned up to the desired pitch.

The pegs are called *nsoā* and are made from a tree called *ofema* (as are the drum-sticks and supports). They are

automatically held in the sockets by the strain on the ropes, and the tighter the tense membrane is stretched the firmer the pegs are held in position.

The rope is made from the fibre of a tree called *bofunu*.

The drum-sticks (nkonta or ntwinla).—Two are used, one held in each hand. Illustration shows the shape. They are made from a naturally shaped branch of a tree called *ofema*. The handles are either bound with cloth or wrapped round with funtumia rubber to keep the hands from slipping. A drummer always carries several spare drum-sticks.

The supports (nwaŋwa).—These serve a double purpose, taking the place of two pegs, and also supporting the drums at the angle at which they are used; they are made of *ofema* wood (*vide* photograph).

The iron attachment (akasā).—The purpose of this has been described. It is fastened so as to lie below the centre on the tense membrane of the "male" drum, to which it is sometimes attached by piercing a hole in the skin, sometimes by being held in its position by a piece of hide or creeper passed through the two small holes in the centre of the *akasā* and fastened on to two pegs at each side of the drum.

In shape it is exactly like a pea-pod open down one side, and this resemblance is further enhanced by its having two little pieces of iron between the two halves of the "husk," which lie just like peas in their shell. Three iron rings are suspended from each end of it.

The cloth.—For an *Ntumpane* drum this must be a white cloth (*nwira*). That of the *Fantom* is silk.

The chief presents the drummer with the cloth, and he tears off a small strip and fastens it round the drum with the words :

"Ntumpane! ntama ni o, me re fura wo ntama ma w'ama me anya ohempa m'adi, w'ama me anya nkwa."

"Drums! here is a cloth, I am dressing you with it that you may grant that I may have a prosperous reign, and let me be blessed with good health."

The hammer.—This is often a small elephant's tusk. It is generally hung on the right side of the "female" drum in readiness for use if required.

This completes the drumming outfit, but the drums are not



OSAI KOJO OMANHENE OF MAMPON DRUMMER.

[To face page 308.]

yet ready for use, for before they may be employed with impunity they have to be "consecrated."


This fact was brought vividly to my notice in the following manner :

Chief *Nuama* of Coomassie had very kindly made for me a small new pair of "talking drums"—such as drummers use to learn upon. The old drummer, by name *Osai Kojo*,¹ who appears in the photograph, came to my bungalow to instruct me in his art, but as soon as he had examined the drums he said he could not drum upon them as they were not ready.

In the first place, he pointed out that the drums had no "eyes," and secondly that apparently they had never, since they left the workman's hand, had any offering made to them.

I asked him if he would perform the necessary ceremony, which he willingly consented to do, and this is what was done :—

He first cut a small square on the surface at the left-hand side of the "male," and another on the left-hand side of the

"female" drum, with two diagonal lines thus : 

These he said were "the eyes of the drum," and also marked the spot upon which to place any offering.

He next asked for two eggs and some whisky. First he poured a few drops of the spirit on the rim of each drum with the words :

"Tweneboa Kodia ! gye naa nom, se ye ka wo a mma yenyare."

"Oh, Cedar tree Kodia ! receive this wine and drink, and when we sound you do not let us fall ill."

Next he slapped down an egg upon the "eye" of the male drum, saying :

"Tweneboa Kodia ! ye wura na wa ko sene wo de wo aba se ode wo re be sua ka, na wo tweneboa nso, ye nfa yen nsa mmo wo mu kwa, na ode fufuo mienu na ode re ma wo adidie, yen a ye re kyere no yi, se ye kyere no a, ma no hũ kã. Mma no nyare, mma yenso nyare. Ma yiye ntoa yiye, se oko aburokyiri a, onko hũ papa, ma Qmanhene nso nhũ papa."

"Cedar tree Kodia, our master went and had you made and brought

¹ It was he who made the phonograph records.

(here) that he might take you to learn to drum; and as for you also, oh, Cedar tree, we do not use our hands to beat you without propitiation, so he has provided two white ones (*i. e.* eggs), and given you to eat, and we who are instructing him, when we teach him permit him to know how to drum. Do not let him fall ill, do not let us fall ill either; let good succeed good. When he goes to Europe may he see good, may the Omanhene also see good."

The broken egg's shell, yolk, and white were rubbed as hard as he could over the "eye," and then the other egg was broken and smeared over the "eye" of the female drum with the words:

"Gye kesua yi di." "Accept this egg and eat."

A fowl, he said, should also be given to the drummer, and this request was also complied with. My drums were now ready for any emergency.

Talking drums when placed in position have the male on the right, the female on the left, the drums touching or nearly so. If the drummer is left-handed, this position is reversed. The drummer stands behind them, as seen in the photograph.

Before passing on to the drum history, which closes the paper, a few notes on drummers and drum etiquette in general may be of interest.

All Ashanti drummers are known as *Qdomankoma Kyerema*, lit. the Creator's drummers, or, making an adjectival phrase, "the divine drummers."

The Ashantis have a myth which states that the Creator made a herald (*Osene*), a drummer, and an executioner (*Qbrafo*), and the precedence of these officials in an Ashanti Court is in that order.¹

Among their other duties drummers are supposed to keep the house of the chief's wives in repair.

A drummer must on no account carry his own drums, "lest he should become mad." Women should not touch a drum and are not allowed to carry them.

A drummer should not teach his own son his art, but engage someone else to do so. Should a father teach his own son it is thought the former would die as soon as the latter had become proficient.

¹ Horn-blowers and drummers are of equal rank.

Talking drums have their own special room in the chief's house (*atumpake 'dan*).

Taboos of the Drums

The *Ntumpane* drums are supposed to observe their owner's *ntorq* taboos.¹ Besides these, the *Ntumpane* taboo most rigidly :—

- (1) Blood in any form.²
- (2) Menstruating women.
- (3) Jaw-bones or skulls.

Ntumpane drums are carried behind a chief, and when he sits down to receive his courtiers they take up their position at his rear.

On every occasion upon which a drummer is about to drum for the first time that particular day, the following little ceremony takes place :

Some wine or other spirits is brought in a cup, and the drummer bending over his drums pours a few drops on the rims and addresses the drums as follows :

" Tweneboa Kodia, Kodia Tweneduru, gye nsa nom, Obofunu gye nsa nom. Qfema dunsene, Gyaanadu Asare nsoã, gye nsa nom. Qfema dunsene, Gyaanadu Asare ntwinta, gye nsa nom. Esono obu akuma, gye nsa nom. Kokokyinaka Asamoa, gye nsa nom, Qbayifo, gye nsa nom. Asase, gye nsa nom. Onyankopon Tweadumpon bonyame, gye nsa nom."

" Cedar tree *Kodia*, *Kodia* Cedar tree, accept (this) wine and drink. *Obofunu* rope, accept (this) wine and drink. Stump of the *Qfema* tree, *Gyaanadu Asare* the Pegs, accept (this) wine and drink. Drumsticks made of the *Qfema* tree, (whose title is) *Gyaanadu Asare*, accept (this) wine and drink. Elephant who breaks the axe, accept (this) wine and drink. *Kokokyinaka* bird, (whose title is) *Asamoa*, accept (this) wine and drink. Witch, accept (this) wine and drink. Earth deity, accept (this) wine and drink. Supreme being *Nyankopon*, *Tweadumpon* Creator, accept (this) wine and drink."

This completes such information as has to date been obtained concerning the Drum language, the drummers, and their drums,

¹ The *Fantomfom* drums mentioned alone do not taboo blood. Except a drum called "Prempeh," which is carried in front, it is not a talking drum.

Vide Paper on *Ntorq* Exogamous Division No. 5.

Horn-blowers and drummers are of equal rank.

² When a fowl is killed for the drums, it is killed in front of them, and great care taken that no blood should touch the drums.

and the paper will be closed with a drum history of the Mampon division of Ashanti. An interpretation of this is given, and also the key which will enable anyone interested to try to drum it for himself.

An English translation is also given and a few very brief notes on points of anthropological interest.

I am very greatly indebted to an Ashanti chief, Osai Bonsu, Omanhene of Mampon, for permitting his drummer to drum this complete history into a phonograph,¹ and for allowing his drummers to lay bare, for the first time, to a European, the secrets of their wonderful art. It may not be generally recognised that such a history has a deeply sacred signification. The names of dead kings are not to be lightly spoken, and with the recounting of such a history comes no small sadness to the listener.

I trust these phonograph records may prove to be of some value, though they very possibly contain a number of mistakes.² They were made with considerable difficulty. The drummer was an old man, and the constant breaking in to have each stanza interpreted must have made his task more difficult.

He became very hoarse towards the end, and a little cough here and there breaks in upon his interpretation. But taken as a whole, I believe these records to be unique of their kind.³

The translation into English is somewhat marred owing to the addition, to the names of each chief, of his titles or "strong names" (*Mmerane* is the Ashanti word). Many of these appear to be archaic, and no one now seems able to interpret them, so they have had to be retained and rendered in the vernacular.

It is not proposed in this paper to analyse minutely the interesting and valuable material contained in this drum history, but special attention may be directed to the following points :

Before the serious business of drumming the names of the chiefs begin, the spirits of the various materials which have gone towards the making of the composite drum are each propitiated in turn, and these spirits are summoned to enter

¹ The illustration will show how the records were made. This photo was taken in the open, but the records were made in a room.

² A few have been noted and corrected in this paper.

³ In seven cylinders.

for a while that material which was once a portion of their living organism. The drums thus for a time become the abode of the spirits of forest trees and of the "mighty elephant." The deities of earth and of sky are called upon in like manner. Even the hated and dreaded *Abayifo*, who prey upon the human body and gnaw the vitals and hearts of men (just as humans partake of meat and other food), are not forgotten, lest in anger they might seize upon the drummer's wrists and cause him to make mistakes.

A drummer who falters and "speaks" a wrong word is liable to a fine of a sheep, and if persistently at fault he might, in the past, have had an ear cut off.

The constant allusion to "the stone that wears down the axe" carries us back, I believe, to the neolithic age in their culture, of which we have examples to-day in the celts and grooved rocks which abound in Ashanti.

The weapons, offensive and defensive, with which they once fought have their names preserved, though the weapons themselves are no longer to be found in use, or even known to the majority.

An interesting allusion is made to one of the *ntoro* Divisions, Lake Bosomtwe,¹ described in a former paper, which corroborates what was therein recorded, *i. e.* the offering of a white fowl to the Lake spirit.

When we come to the names of the great rulers of this clan (the *Beretuo*), a close examination reveals the fact that the first king of this division was a queen—if one may perpetrate such a bull—a fact of great interest when we come to examine the position of women under their system of matrilineal descent.²

Finally, in this drum history has been preserved an accurate record of the migrations of this clan from the far-away days when the Mampons were settled in Adanse, and also the names, deeds, and physical attributes of their former rulers.

In my book I have reduced the whole of this drum history to code, but I need not detain you with this here, and will close my pages by reading you a few stanzas only from the history.

¹ *Vide Ntoro Exogamous Divisions Paper No. 5.*

² *Vide Matrilineal Descent in Ashanti Paper No. 3.*

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE DRUM HISTORY OF MAMPON.

(I) ¹

Kon, kon, kon, kon,
 Kun, kun, kun, kun,
 (Spirit of) *Funtumia Akore*,
 (Spirit of) Cedar tree, *Akore*,
 Of Cedar tree, *Kodia*,
 Of *Kodia*, the Cedar tree,²
 The divine drummer announces that,
 Had he gone elsewhere (in sleep),
 He now has made himself to arise;
 (As) the fowl crew in the early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and crew,
 Very early, very early, very early.
 We are addressing you,³
 And you will understand;
 We are addressing you,
 And you will understand.

(II)

(Spirit of) Earth, sorrow is yours,
 (Spirit of) Earth, woe is yours;
 Earth with its dust,
 (Spirit of) the Sky,
 Who stretches to *Kwawu*.
 Earth, if I am about to die,
 It is upon you that I depend.
 Earth, when I am yet alive,
 It is upon you that I put my trust.
 Earth who receives my body,
 The divine drummer announces that,
 Had he gone elsewhere (in sleep),
 He has made himself to arise.
 (As) the fowl crew in the early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and crew,
 Very early, very early, very early.
 We are addressing you, etc., as in (I) above.

(III)

(Spirit of) the mighty one, *Ankamanefo*,
 He and the drummers will set out together,
 (Spirit of) the mighty one, *Ankamanefo*,
 He and the drummers will return together.

¹ Phonograph cylinder No. 1.² See terminal note.³ *Kyere* is "to show," "to instruct," but here I think is used rather in the sense of "to relate," "to tell."

You of mighty bulk, *Gyaanadu*, the red one,
 The swamps swallow thee up, oh Elephant,
 Elephant that breaks the axe,
 (Spirit of) the Elephant, the divine drummer declares that
 He has started up from sleep,
 He has made himself to arise;
 (As) the fowl crew in the early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and crew,
 Very early, very early, very early,
 We are addressing you, etc., as in (I) above.

(IV) ¹

(Spirit of) the fibre, *Ampasakyi*,
 Where art thou?
 The divine drummer announces that,
 Had he gone elsewhere (in sleep),
 He has made himself to arise,
 He has made himself to arise.
 (As) the fowl crew in the early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and crew,
 Very early, very early, very early.
 We are addressing you, etc., as in (I) above.

(V)

Oh Pegs, (made from) the stump of the *Qfema* tree,
 (Whose title is) *Gyaanadu Asare*,
 Where is it that you are?
 The divine drummer announces that
 Had he gone elsewhere (in sleep),
 He has made himself to arise,
 He has made himself to arise.
 (As) the fowl crew in the early dawn,
 (As) the fowl uprose and crew,
 Very early, very early, very early.
 We are addressing you, etc., as in (I) above.

(VI)

Kokokyinaka * bird,
 How do we give answer to thy greeting?

¹ Phonograph cylinder No. 2.

* The *Kokokyinaka* is a beautiful dark electric blue bird that frequents the forest. Osai Kojo, the old drummer, brought me one, which I have as a pet. Its call is not unlike the notes of the drums. It is every drummer's totem; they claim clanship with it and would not eat or kill it. Its call is something like *Kro kro kro kro ho kyini kyini kyini kro kyini ka ka ka kyini kyini kyini. Kyina ka*. The Ashanti say it taught them to drum.

We salute thee "*Anyãdo*,"¹
 We salute thee as the drummer's child,
 The drummer's child sleeps,
 He awakes with the dawn,
 Very early, very early, very early.
 We are addressing you, etc., as in (1) above.

(VII)

Oh Witch, do not slay me, *Adwo*,²
 Spare me, *Adwo*,
 The divine drummer declares that,
 When he rises with the dawn,
 He will sound (his drums) for you in the morning,
 Very early,
 Very early,
 Very early,
 Very early.
 Oh Witch that slays the children of men before they are fully
 matured,
 Oh Witch that slays the children of men before they are fully
 matured,
 The divine drummer declares that,
 When he rises with the dawn,
 He will sound his drums for you in the morning,
 Very early,
 Very early,
 Very early,
 Very early,
 We are addressing you,
 And you will understand.

¹ *Anyãdo* is a salutation given to drummers and also to anyone of the *Bosomptra ntorg*.

² *Adwo*, a title of respect given to chiefs, by women to their husbands and children to their elders.

Note.—There is, of course, no "cedar" tree in Ashanti, or anywhere else in Tropical Africa. There is no true cedar indigenous to any part of the world save the high Atlas mountains in Algeria-Morocco, the Lebanon range in Syria, and a portion of the Himalayas. The name has been misapplied by traders to many trees in Africa and North America.—*Eds.* JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

DINNER OF THE SOCIETY

A DINNER of the African Society was held at the Trocadero Restaurant on 15th May, 1923, when the Earl Buxton, President of the Society, occupied the Chair, and the Principal Guest of the Society was the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Amongst the large number present were : —

Mr. J. W. Allen, Miss J. G. Annandale, Mr. Kenneth Archer, Rev. Dr. J. W. Arthur, Dr. Andrew Balfour, C.B., C.M.G., Mr. Astley Barton, Mr. Juxon Barton, Mr. T. Alexander Barns, F.Z.S., Mr. H. B. Betterton, C.B.E., M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour), Sir Reginald Blankenberg, K.B.E., The Countess Buxton, G.B.E., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Lady Buxton, Miss Cara Buxton, Admiral H. H. Campbell, C.B., C.V.O., Dr. F. Charlesworth, Major Cuthbert Christy, Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G. (Governor of Nigeria), Lady Clifford, Sir Robert Coryndon, K.C.M.G. (Governor of Kenya), Lady Coryndon, General the Hon. Sir Charles Crewe, K.C.M.G., C.B., Lady Crewe, Dr. E. S. Crispin, C.B.E., Major and Mrs. W. M. Crowdy, Sir James Currie, C.M.G., Julia Countess of Dartrey, Mrs. Bernard Davis, Sir Edward Dawson, Lady Dawson, Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., Miss A. d'Egville, Lord Delamere, The Duchess of Devonshire, Mr. and Mrs. John Dunn, Major C. A. T. Dutton, Brig.-General Sir A. Edwards, K.C.M.G., Lady Edwards, The Master of Elibank, The Rt. Hon. Lord Emmott of Oldham, G.C.M.G., Lady Emmott, Col. Etherton, Miss Fairbridge, Sir Francis Fuller, K.B.E., C.M.G., Lady Fuller, Sir Henry L. Galway, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Lady Galway, Sir W. M. M. Geary, Bart., Lady Glover, Brig.-General Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O. (Governor of the Gold Coast), Lady Guggisberg, C.B.E., Sir Robert Hamilton, M.P., Major the Viscount Hawarden, The Viscountess Hawarden, Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Mr. Michael J. Holland, M.C., Sir R. Sothern Holland, Mr. A. C. Hollis, C.M.G., C.B.E., Lt.-Col. E. E. F. Homer, D.S.O., M.C., Miss Hutchinson, Colonel R. Isham, Mr. James Y. Joicey, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Jones, Dr. Thos. Jesse Jones, Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Kitson, Commdr. Livingstone Learmouth, R.N., Sir Humphrey Leggett, Lady Leggett, Mr. H. D. Lorimer, M.P., The Rt. Hon. Sir Donald Maclean, K.B.E., Lady Maclean, Mr. D. O. Malcolm, Lady Evelyn Malcolm, Mr. J. C. May, Viscount Milner, G.C.B., The Viscountess Milner, Mr. P. A. Molteno, Admiral V. B. Molteno, C.B., R.N., Mr. C. F. Molyneux, Mrs. Manfred Nathan, Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Neville, Mr. G. J. E. Neville, Sir Francis C. Newton, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Lady Newton, Mr. J. H. Oldham, Lieut.-Col. J. J. O. Sullivan, D.S.O., Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., Lady Ross, Mr. and Mrs. R. D. Ross, Mr. W. S. Royce, M.P., Sir James Masterton-Smith, K.C.B. (Permanent

Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Mr. P. J. Patrick Squire, Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. Philip Taylor, Sir Lawrence Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., Lady Wallace, Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Waterall, Mr. Leo Weinthal, C.B.E., Mrs. Weinthal, General Sir Reginald Wingate, Bart., G.C.B., Lady Wingate, Lady Wiseman.

The President in proposing the health of the guest, said : My Lords, ladies and gentlemen, I have first a word of thanks to say to the Secretary of State, who has been good enough amongst his manifold duties to come here this evening to talk to the African Society, and I assure him, on behalf of the Members of the Society and their guests of this evening, that we are very grateful to him for his goodness in that respect.

Perhaps you, Sir, will allow me to say that it is not inappropriate for the Secretary of State to come and address the members of the African Society. I think the Society may claim that it really does represent in its own way and in its own sphere—and I need hardly say it eschews any question of politics—that it does represent that great Continent of Africa—that is no longer the “dark Continent.” (Applause.) We have members of the Society in even the most remote parts of that great Continent. That I am making no idle boast is shown by the Dinner this evening. I should like to mention the names of some of those here this evening, because not only does it show what an important Society it is, but also the class of men who are active in the Empire in Africa.

Taking, in the first place, the great Dominion, the Union, Senator Jacobus Graaff, one of General Botha's Cabinet, would have been here, but he has unfortunately been taken ill. He represents the Dutch Section. The British Section is well represented by General Sir Charles Crewe and Sir Lionel Philipps.

Rhodesia, north and south, is well represented. We have Sir Lawrence Wallace, who for many years was the admirable Administrator of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Francis Newton, and General Sir Alfred Edwards. In Sir Reginald Wingate we have a good representative of Egypt and the Sudan.

As regards our Crown Colonies, I am glad to think we have here to-night those who represent the most important of the African Colonies, Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of Nigeria, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast, and my old friend and colleague Sir Robert Coryndon, Governor of Kenya. Well, I do not envy him his job (laughter); but if you have a knotty point to unravel or to cut, commend me to Sir Robert Coryndon.

I suppose that some seventy-five or eighty per cent. of the Members of the African Society live much or most of their lives in Africa, and although, therefore, they cannot be here to-night, they will have the opportunity of reading of this Dinner in the JOURNAL. They will feel, what I know they feel very much, the encouragement that is given to them in their arduous and difficult positions when the Secretary of State takes the trouble to come down and give them a word of encouragement. (Applause.)

Many years ago I had the honour of being Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies under a very good Chief—I call him a very good chief because he gave his Under-Secretary a great deal of work and a great deal of responsibility. Then and since I have always believed that the Colonial Office is the most interesting Office under the Crown. It covers an immense range of work, of subjects and of interests. It is like a Nasmyth hammer, which can drive a pile or crack a nut. Further, it deals with human nature, and is concerned with a very large number of persons and personalities, and after all the Human Document is the most interesting reading. (Applause.)

And you, Sir, as representing the Colonial Office, represent the larger part of the British Empire. You have under you many different types of Constitution, innumerable Races, all Colours, and many varieties of Politics and Creed, in both of which all British Subjects enjoy full freedom of opinion. (Applause.)

These different peoples and races were shown during the Great War, with but slight exceptions, to be thoroughly loyal in their different ways and capacities.

I suppose no one can quite tell why it is that particular individuals living in the Dominion are necessarily loyal to the King and to the Empire. I remember hearing that in Australia they were having their festivities in honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. There was present a South Sea Islander who was tremendously enthusiastic. Someone said to him, "Why are you so excited over this demonstration?" and he replied, "Well, Sir, you see I have British blood in my veins; my great-grandfather helped to eat Captain Cook." (Laughter.)

But you, Sir, have had put under your control further different portions of the world since the war. Palestine has been added and a considerable portion of the Far East, and, I am glad to think, the youngest Dominion, the Free State of Ireland.

* There are two other additions which, as far as South Africa is concerned, are even more satisfactory. The territory which before the war was called German East, is, I am glad to think, now called Tanganyika, and is painted red. (Applause.) What was before the war German South-west, is now called the South-west Territory, and it is now an integral part of the Union of South Africa, and is also painted red. (Applause.) I am quite sure, as far as Great Britain is concerned, and I am equally certain as regards Belgium and as regards Portugal, that they appreciate very much indeed, as we appreciate, that there has been removed from our midst in South Africa a source of danger, and, what is worse, of intrigue. (Applause.)

You, Sir, have had these additions to your duties and responsibilities and you came in like your colleagues, thinking you were going to have a time of "Tranquillity," so we understood from the Prime Minister. (Laughter.) I have been in politics for many years. I have had the honour of holding several Offices. As far as my recollection goes, Ministers have always thought they were going to have a tranquil time, and they have never found it. You have proved no exception to the rule. (Laughter.)

Ladies and gentlemen, our Guest this evening is not only Secretary of State for the Colonies, but he was Governor-General for some years of our oldest Dominion, and performed very distinguished services in that position. I am sure that the experience he learned there is of great value to him as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

You, Sir, as we know, achieved remarkable success as Governor-General of Canada, but you will, I am sure, agree, that it was due in no small measure to your gracious Consort, who is sitting by me here. (Applause.) I have heard it said with truth, but I hope with some exaggeration, that two things only really matter in the position of Governor-General. The first is that he should have a good staff, and that that staff should be efficient, tactful, and, if possible, good-looking. (Laughter.) And, secondly, that he should have a wife, and if possible a family who take an interest in the Dominion, and make themselves popular and beloved. You, Sir, will agree that you and I have been singularly fortunate in both these essentials—they pulled us through. (Laughter.)

You had a difficult time as Governor-General of Canada, but I am not sure whether the atmosphere in which I was acting was not more electrical than yours. But in this you will agree, that you appreciated, as all Governors and Governors-General do, that you could in every emergency rely on the unfailing and prompt support and sympathy of your Chief at the Colonial Office. (Applause.) I was singularly fortunate in having during my period of office four personal friends as my Chiefs—Lord Harcourt, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Long, and Lord Milner, who is honouring us with his presence this evening. (Applause.) These four men represented in a way different shades of political opinion but as far as they were Secretaries of State dealing with Governors and Governors-General, there was not a shadow of a shade of difference in the policy they were carrying out.

I mention their names especially, because I think it was a very striking and a very satisfactory feature of our public life of late years, that Colonial questions and Dominion questions have got out of the rut of Party politics—and will never get back to them. (Applause.)

What is that policy? It is a very simple one. So far as the Dominions, no longer Colonies, are concerned, Downing Street not many years ago used to be a name synonymous with a fussy and timid old grandmother who interfered and thwarted them in matters they thought they knew better how to deal with. The Colonial Office now is more of the nature of the benevolent Uncle. (Laughter.) Neither the Secretary of State, nor Parliament, nor this Country desires to interfere with their affairs in any way whatever. We have given them the full opportunity and power to deal with their own affairs, and we desire that they should have complete control over them. In fact, as someone said, we were quite prepared to let them go to the Devil in their own way; or, alternatively, to work out their own Salvation. (Laughter.)

As regards the Crown Colonies, the Colonial Office assists them as far as it can in improvement and development. Their development is no doubt an advantage to this Country, but we have never exploited

our Colonies. We don't look upon their development as subsidiary to our interest, we look primarily to their interests. (Applause.)

I give you the health of our guest, the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies. I have shown you he has carried out, as indeed you all know, many great and public services. He has followed the example of many generations of his forbears, and I think, if he will allow me to say so, that the motto of the Cavendishes might well be in the highest sense of the word "Noblesse Oblige." (Loud applause.)

The Duke of Devonshire (Secretary of State for the Colonies) in reply to the Toast said : My Lord Chairman, my Lords, ladies and gentlemen, I must honestly admit that I was surprised, when quite unexpectedly I was asked by the new Prime Minister to accept the distinguished and responsible office of Secretary of State for the Colonies. I had, I admit, honestly been looking forward—I am speaking from a personal point of view—to a time of tranquillity, but possibly not in the sense to which our Chairman has alluded to-night. But on that point I should respectfully like to amend the statement which he has made. If I rightly remember the observation of the Prime Minister, his language was so turned as to indicate that the policy which his Government was hoping to pursue was that which provided tranquillity to other people. I do not think that either he or any of his colleagues had any illusions on the subject that however successful they might be in attaining that object, they would not be able to participate to any extent in that state. I do not know whether any of you are connected with or move in racing circles, but as far as I am aware the nearest approach to tranquillity or anything of the sort is the success of one of my colleagues in having named one of his horses, two years ago, Tranquil, which has already succeeded in winning races. I hope it will be an omen and an augury for the future. (Laughter.) One of the unexpected results of my coming to the Colonial Office was a very cordial and generous measure of hospitality and welcome which has been extended to me. I can only wish that in the many generous invitations I receive the positions might be more reversed. For instance, our Chairman has rightly told us to-night that in this gathering we have distinguished representatives from every part of Africa. I should have thought it would have been more appropriate if the African Society had devoted the evening to addressing the Secretary of State rather than the Secretary of State attempting to address the African Society.

The Duke of Devonshire then proceeded to deliver his address on "The Progress of Africa," which is given on p. 261.

At the conclusion of the address, Members of the Society and their friends adjourned to an adjoining room where introductions to the Secretary of State were made and an informal interchange of views took place amongst those present.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THERE was a large attendance of Members of the African Society at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, on Wednesday, 21st March, 1923, at 5 p.m., when Captain R. S. Rattray, M.B.E. (Gold Coast Political Service), gave an interesting Lecture on "The Drum Language of West Africa," accompanied by Lantern Illustrations and Phonograph Records. Sir Lawrence Wallace, K.B.E., C.M.G., presided in the absence of the President.

Amongst those present were :—

Mr. J. W. Allen, Miss J. G. Annandale, Dr. Cuthbert Christy, Mr. Ralph Durand, Mrs. M. K. ffoulkes, Mr. Harry France, Sir W. M. M. Geary, Bart., Lady Guggisberg, Mr. J. B. Hicks, Mr. C. W. Hobley, C.M.G., Mr. Michael Holland, Mr. T. B. Kitson, Mr. G. P. Lestrade, Major Maxwell-Lyte, Mr. J. Maxwell, C.M.G., Lady New, Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, Mr. C. F. Rey, Capt. F. Shelford, Mrs. A. R. Slater, Mr. Lewis A. Smart, Mr. A. Murray Smith, Mr. M. Stuart, Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Miss Alice Werner, Mr. T. D. Williams, Mrs. D. M. Woodward.

The *Chairman* in opening the proceedings said : Lord Buxton, the President of the Society, has asked me to take the Chair as he has been called away to the House of Lords. He would have liked to have been here, but is prevented by his public duties. The Lecturer needs very little introduction. He has made a study of Africa right through for many years, and lately West Africa and the Gold Coast, and is going to give us one of the results of his study which he has gone very deeply into, and that is the Drum Language of the natives in that part of the country. I will not detain you at this juncture, and will say no more, but at once call on Captain Rattray to give you his Address. (Applause.)

Captain Rattray then delivered his Lecture, the first part of which was published in the April issue of the Journal and the second part will be found on p. 302. At the conclusion of the paper :—

The Chairman said : I think to-night we have heard a very great deal about drumming. I have lived amongst native drums for years and years, but I have learned more about them to-night than ever I knew before. Most of the drumming heard in Africa has made one rather wont to throw one's boots at the drummer and

get a little sleep, because the drumming is kept up all night long. (Laughter.) On this question of the drum language I should like to mention one incident which came within my experience. On one occasion I arrived at a camp in Central Africa where a well-known white man, very much beloved by the natives, was giving a dinner to some Europeans. He was sick, and asked me if I would take his place at the dinner, and I did so. The dinner lasted till late in the night. After dinner I saw him and told him how it had gone off. Early the next morning I left the camp, travelling away and going rather fast for two days. In the middle of the second day I met a native coming towards me from the opposite direction, who told me that my friend, who had been sick in that camp and whom I had left two days before, was dead. The native had got the news further off than I was, and I was fully forty miles away from where I had stayed. How the natives in remote parts got the news of my friend's death I do not know. It was suggested that it was communicated by drums, but I never really knew. With regard to the application of phonetics to this method of news transmission, I was not aware that there was such scientific drumming as we have had explained to us to-night. I am sure we have all thoroughly enjoyed and appreciated the Lecture to which we have had the privilege of listening. (Applause.)

A Meeting of the African Society was held at King's College, Strand, W.G., on Tuesday, 1st May, 1923, at 5 p.m., when a paper entitled "Africa and Historical Research" was read by Professor A. P. Newton, M.A., D.Lit., B.Sc. The Chair was taken by the President of the African Society, the Rt. Hon. the Earl Buxton, G.C.M.G.

Amongst those present were :—

Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., Rev. W. A. Crabtree, Dr. Cuthbert Christy, Prof. Fouché, Mr. J. B. Hicks, Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Edgar Prestage, Sir E. Denison Ross, Lady Ross, Rev. Edwin W. Smith, Miss Alice Werner.

Earl Buxton, formally introduced Professor Newton, who then read his paper, which is given on p. 266. At the conclusion of the paper the Chairman called on :—

Sir Denison Ross, who said : I should like to point out to the Members of the Society here present what the Members of King's College already know, namely, the very remarkable position which Professor Newton holds as a teacher of Colonial history. My own impression of it—I am also a student—is that he has invented the subject himself (laughter); and he has, I am glad to say, a very large and increasing following. Looking ahead, one can imagine somebody coming to lecture to the African Society say fifty years

hence, and saying, "It is time we had some organised inquiry into the history of England on the model of the study of Colonial history established by Professor Newton in 1920." I think we should realise what a privilege it has been to hear this Lecture, and to get a whole number of new ideas into our heads. One of the most important ideas, which I am always trying to emphasise from the other side, is that continents do not count and that seas do, and that just as it is with Northern Africa so it is with the Near East. I should like one day to see a series of maps that really were historical, which would divide the world in such a manner as to show the way in which it has behaved, and not merely to show how it has been drawn. I think that is an important thing Professor Newton has emphasised, and it is equally true of the Near East. The position of Abyssinia, which interests me specially, is so peculiar it can only be compared to the position of Thibet in its exclusiveness. I feel that we can all help towards the great task that Professor Newton has set about, even those who are not students of Colonial history, and I feel that the School of Oriental Studies will also have to come into line in contributing its quota of history from Moslem sources, of which there are many, even in regard to comparatively modern times.

Mr. Edgar Prestage (Lisbon Academy of Sciences) said: As I am the only representative here from Portugal, and as Professor Newton in his most suggestive Lecture has done justice to the early discoveries of the Portuguese who opened the African Continent, the least I can do is to thank him on behalf of my friends and colleagues, and to say that we recognise that in the Torre do Tombo we have a large number of documents dealing with Africa and the East which have not been properly inspected or catalogued. I hope that Professor Newton and his students, when they take a holiday, instead of visiting the usual places of resort, the Italian cities and France, will go to Portugal and look into the archives there; the country is small, and the number of persons who can afford to devote themselves to this particular study is very limited. The visit of foreign students would have a good effect, as we found when Professor Beazley and one or two Frenchmen and Dutchmen went there; they served as a stimulus to the Portuguese. It is true that we are producing much more than we were (the Lisbon Academy of Sciences is very much alive), particularly in subjects Asiatic, as well as African, but not nearly enough. The records and facilities exist, but we have not a sufficient number of investigators, because when finds of documents are made, it is difficult to get them printed. No publisher in Lisbon will undertake learned works; they do not pay. They have to be issued in some review, or at the cost of the Academy, which is so overburdened with matter that it cannot print much more than half of what is available at any one time.

Professor Fouché (Transvaal) said: As one whose business lies in the study and teaching of South African history, I should like to thank

the Lecturer most warmly for his really masterly survey. He has said that African history begins very late, because it only begins with written material, although in South Africa we can claim to have very ancient historical matter in the shape of kitchen middens, and there are also races before the bushmen whom we at one time looked upon as the first South Africans. There was a race of giants who have disappeared. Still that is not strictly speaking history. It is more for the ethnographers. The field of written materials is sufficiently vast and unexplored to give work to many generations of students. I am particularly glad to see many students here, because nothing could be more inspiring for them than to be told about the things we want to know, and there is such a vast number of them in our history that one does not know where to begin. The Portuguese side has been done very carefully, but even here there are strange difficulties and obscurities that one would think that people who had the opportunity would have thrown light upon. For instance, it may be my own ignorance, but I have never been able to see quite at what moment the Portuguese tried knowingly to seek for a sea route to India. It is said, for instance, Prince Henry himself looked for the route to India. Nowadays we don't believe that. If so, who first got the idea? That man ought to be honoured as well as Prince Henry. That is a point upon which the Portuguese authorities have thrown no light. What did the Portuguese do about starting to find a sea route to the East? They sent missionaries to spy out the land all over the East; some of them brought back reports, others did not come back at all. The same applies to Abyssinia. I, myself, had a tantalising vision, in the Vatican archives, of letters from the King of Portugal to the Pope, saying people had come back from Abyssinia and reported certain things. That has always been a tantalising subject so far as I am concerned, and I hope the mention of this will stimulate someone to give the Vatican some attention. Speaking of Rome, so far as I know the archives of the Dominicans, the great missionaries, have never been used for research into the early history of parts of Africa. With regard to Madagascar there is a mass of most interesting stuff. Whilst the French, Dutch and English were fighting, there were certain intervals when parts of the island were in the hands of pirates. In the archives of the Dutch East India Company there are a great many documents dealing with these episodes, because some of the Company's officials turned pirates. In the first settlement of the Cape, some English and Scotch sailors in the Dutch East India Company's service plotted to seize a ship and sail away and join the pirates. That makes quite an interesting subject.

If one comes to very modern times, as Professor Newton has remarked, South African history has been really a playground of prejudice. The trouble has been, as he so rightly and soundly pointed out, not so much the passions of the people as the simple lack of real knowledge. Our historiography has really been—I do not want to be rude—it has been like newspaper stuff, turned out by men who write to prove some sort of thesis or help some party. Nobody has had the opportunity of writing serious, impartial, scientific history, because the material is

not available, and here people like Professor Newton and his students could help us enormously. They could even help us in our politics, in our ordinary social life. They could clear up much of the somewhat sulphurous atmosphere in South Africa, by showing us the real facts, because when you have the facts there cannot be any controversy. That is what we hope the students will be inspired to do. Look, for instance, into the archives of the London Missionary Society. Do not forget the representative of the London Missionary Society was the real ruler of South Africa for a generation. Dr. Philip was the real ruler there in the eighteen-thirties. He started the great trek, which made the history of the second half of the nineteenth century. The Aborigines Protection Society has also very valuable material. We want as much as possible the publication of sources which we in South Africa can only reach with the greatest difficulty. That is where London could help us, not simply to teach us our own history, but to make the materials available. People here can do a great Imperial work by helping us to get a proper perspective so far as Dutch and English are concerned. I think Professor Newton's survey of the field is most valuable and stimulating, and I look for fruits from what he has been good enough to give us.

The President said : On behalf of the African Society, and also on behalf of those here who are not Members of the Society, we desire to convey to you, Professor Newton, our warmest possible thanks, not only for your kindness in giving us a Lecture, but one so extremely interesting and suggestive. (Cheers.)

One often listens to Lectures of great interest, but I have seldom heard a Lecture which, as Professor Fouché has just said, carries more suggestion with it which we can think out afterwards.

Professor Newton started by saying he was going to give us a technical Lecture. I am very much pleased he should have said that, because, so far as I am concerned I believe I understood every word of it, and I must therefore be a more intelligent person than I thought I was when I came into the room. (Laughter.)

The line of the Lecture and the suggestions you have made are of the greatest possible value. I am very glad to know that at your own College and elsewhere, the suggestions you are making are already being worked out, namely, that there should be much more research, definite research, and what I think you called "team work" (which sounded to me a very good phrase), and delving and diving into the various documents which were not written for publication, and were therefore not written from any controversial point of view, or in order to prove some particular point.

There is one thing Professor Fouché mentioned with which I cannot agree. He said that if you showed people the facts, controversy would then disappear. I wonder with his knowledge of South Africa why he made such a broad statement as that. I remember Mark Twain saying, "Give me the facts, and I can then use them to prove all I want," and that is very much the way we are accustomed to use facts given us. (Laughter.)

I was very much interested in the references Professor Newton made to South Africa. It is quite true, and I think Professor Fouché will agree with me, that as regards the earlier days, when the Country was occupied by the Dutch settlers, and then later by the British, there is a comparatively small amount of available material for delving and diving. Most of it was written largely from a controversial point of view. But at the same time I think there must be undoubtedly a good deal which is still unknown, which should be of the greatest possible use in arriving at the facts. There has been a certain amount of work done. There is a little book, which is of very great interest, by Mr. Botha, librarian of the Senate, in reference to the coming of the Huguenots, which had a great effect on the country. The Book is of extreme interest, although it happens to deal with only a comparatively small section of the population. I think Sir George Cory and others, who are occupied in writing the history of South Africa, are endeavouring to write it from the point of view of getting their facts and utilising their facts to the best possible advantage when they have got them. From what I have seen of South Africa I think it is about time something which was not one-sided or party or political was published in regard to that Country. Professor Fouché will agree that everybody in South Africa is born a politician and remains a politician until he goes to his grave. (Laughter.) Controversy is carried to almost too great an extreme. It is therefore all the more important, so far as material for taking a less prejudiced and partial view is concerned, that the more that it should be utilised and discovered the better.

But I do not wish to detain the Meeting. Again I desire to thank you, Professor Newton, on behalf of the Society and on behalf of those present for the very interesting Address which you have been good enough to give us. (Cheers.) When we have the opportunity of publishing it in the *AFRICAN JOURNAL* it will go out to larger numbers all over Africa. So far as Professor Fouché is concerned, and those in South Africa who take an interest in education, I think they will be only too glad to give you assistance in the work which you have in view.

Professor Newton, responding, said : I can assure you that the University of London will always welcome with the greatest of pleasure, any student from the Overseas Dominions who will come and work along with us.

The Meeting of the Society held on 20th June, 1923, when Dr. W. J. Viljoen gave a Lecture entitled, "How we solved the Language Problem in South Africa," will be reported in the October issue of the *JOURNAL*.

EDITORIAL NOTES

At a Meeting of the Council of the African Society held on **The African Society and Kenya.** June 20th—Lord Buxton, President of the African Society, in the Chair—a letter was read from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of a Resolution passed at the previous Meeting of the Council. The Resolution, proposed by Sir Humphrey Leggett, and seconded by Sir Henry Galway, was as follows :—

“ The Council of the African Society understands that important questions affecting the relations of the respective racial Communities in Kenya Colony are now under the consideration of the Imperial Government, and they therefore desire to offer their respectful opinion that in the settlement of these questions, the interests of the indigenous African population should receive the utmost consideration, should be most carefully secured in the present and guarded in the future as an Imperial Trust.”

The reply from the Secretary of State for the Colonies was as follows :—

*Downing Street,
29th May, 1923.*

MY LORD,

I am directed by the Duke of Devonshire to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd of May, forwarding a copy of a Resolution passed at a Meeting of the Council of the African Society held on the 1st of May relative to the political questions in Kenya which are now engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government.

The Society may be assured that the fullest consideration will be given by His Majesty's Government now and at all times to the interests of the indigenous African population in Kenya and other Dependencies in Tropical Africa, for the administration of which they are responsible.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

(Signed) H. J. READ.

THE RT. HON.

THE EARL BUXTON, G.C.M.G.

THE British Government has not yet announced the date on which Responsible Government will be set up in Southern Rhodesia, but we understand that it is intended to fall within the current financial year. The Chartered Company has proposed that its successor in the administration should be responsible for the finances for the whole year 1923-4. The British Government has raised no objection to this and has suggested that the estimates to be laid before the Legislative Council should be framed accordingly. The proposal, however, in this form does not please the Rhodesians, who are, moreover, protesting against the delay in issuing the Letters Patent. At some of the public meetings that have been held in Rhodesia prominent Unionists have associated themselves with the protest, and Major Inskip, on behalf of the Chartered Company, has bestowed a formal benediction upon Responsible Government and supported the protest against delay. The old Responsible Government Association has been transformed into the Responsible Government Party and branches have been established in many places to prepare for the elections.

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MEANWHILE, in view of the grant of autonomy to Southern Rhodesia and the fact that next year the rule of the Chartered Company north of the Zambesi will come to an end, the question is being discussed as to the future of Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Iver MacIver has an article on the subject in the June *Fortnightly Review*—an article which is unfortunately marred by hostility to General Smuts, who is accused of cherishing anti-British intentions and of wishing to annex the Portuguese Colonies. There are three possible solutions of the problem: 1st, That all the great British tropical dependencies in Central Africa, viz. Uganda, Kenya Colony, Tanganyika Territory, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, should be united under one government; 2nd, That Northern Rhodesia should be divided into three parts, the eastern section being annexed to Nyasaland under one administration, the western section, that of Barotse-land, being administered by the Imperial Government as a native reserve, and the central part, through which runs the

Cape to Cairo railway, continuing to be administered by the Chartered Company, or, alternatively, handed over to Southern Rhodesia; 3rd, That the whole of Northern Rhodesia, to which Nyasaland would be added, should be placed in the charge of Southern Rhodesia, the Imperial Government guaranteeing, under careful safeguards, any deficits in the administration of the Northern Territory for a term of years.

Mr. MacIver summarily rejects the second proposal on the ground that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia form a geographical unit and should be united politically rather than separated. He sees much to recommend the first proposal, that is, to create a great Imperial dependency along the same lines as "our past Indian Empire." Not only would a unified administration be more economical, but it would ensure a definite and comprehensive policy for developing the backward races peopling these vast areas. Everybody perhaps will agree that such an all-embracing policy is urgently needed. Moreover, a government of this standing would, Mr. MacIver thinks, attract the same type of man who used to be the glory of the Indian Civil Service. The scheme would also ensure a more systematic economic development of the countries than is possible at present. These are weighty arguments in favour of the proposal, but Mr. MacIver turns it down, as he thinks the magnitude of the scheme renders it impossible to realise. He comes back to the third proposal and strongly advocates that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be handed over to Southern Rhodesia, the colonists in those territories being given a certain number of seats in the Southern Legislative Assembly. The Imperial Government should, he thinks, make itself responsible for the deficit, at present amounting to £40,000 a year, on the administration of Northern Rhodesia. Barotseland would be detached from the rest of Northern Rhodesia and ruled as Basutoland is ruled now. On the other hand, the northern strip of Bechuanaland—"this useful bit of country"—would be handed over to Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. MacIver omits to inquire what Nyasaland would say to being governed from Salisbury; we imagine there would be some objection from that quarter to this scheme. And if it were adopted as a *pis aller*, what would happen if, or when,

in the future the more satisfactory project of the Central Africa Dependency came to be feasible? Would Southern Rhodesia surrender its northern territories, or would it come in?

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TRADE conditions improved in Basutoland during 1922.

Basutoland.

The total imports were valued at £702,125, an increase of £145,672; the exports reached £669,330, an increase of £158,882. The depression in the cattle market is reflected in the decreased exports of horses, sheep and cattle. Grain also showed a heavy fall. Had it not been for an improvement in wool, the totalled figures would have been discouraging. The quantity of wool and mohair exported was practically the same as in 1921, but higher prices were obtained, resulting in an increase in value of £165,352 for wool and of £41,077 for mohair.

* * * * *

FOURTEEN years ago an agreement was signed between the

Delagoa Bay.

Transvaal and the Mozambique Portuguese province to regulate the commercial relations between the two countries. The port of Delagoa Bay was to be utilised for British exports and imports, there being reciprocal free passage through the Customs of the products of the soil, and there was to be freedom to recruit natives from Mozambique for the Transvaal mines. That agreement lapsed on March 31st this year. The establishment of the Union of South Africa has in the meantime somewhat altered the position. Transvaal products have been allowed free entrance into Mozambique, but the Portuguese would view with other eyes, say, the free introduction of Cape wines in competition with the wines of Portugal; they are therefore not willing to extend to the whole Union the agreement made with the Transvaal. That difficulty might be overcome, but there are others not so easy of solution. General Smuts made an attempt to remove the port from the effect of political influences on both sides by proposing that its control should be vested in an independent Board of Management, composed of an equal number of Portuguese and Union members with a Union representative as chairman. He proposed that such

an agreement should endure for ninety-nine years. The Portuguese were willing to carry out suggestions for improving the port, and to place its management in the hands of a joint board, but it is hardly to be wondered at, perhaps, that they insisted upon having a majority of members on the board. The negotiations broke down on this point. General Smuts then turned his attention to selecting a site for a rival Union port, and Sir George Buchanan, the engineer to whom the survey was entrusted, chose Sordwana Bay in Zululand, where unquestionably a very fine harbour could be constructed. The cost would, however, be very heavy, and many people in the Union regard the scheme with disfavour for that reason. Delagoa Bay is, of course, a very fine harbour, and, being the nearest port to Johannesburg and the Transvaal coal-mines, is the natural gateway into that part of the Union. On the other hand, without the Transvaal trade the port would be of little value to the Portuguese. With such reciprocal advantages to be gained an agreement should be possible, and failing that there seems to be no alternative but to build a new port within Union territory.

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THE land question in South Africa calls loudly for settlement.

Land Problems in South Africa. Until a solution is arrived at satisfactory to all parties there is no hope of racial

peace within the Union. A Cape Town correspondent of the *Times* declares the situation to be far from satisfactory, and holds it up as a warning to Northern Rhodesia and other European dependencies in Africa to have ample native reserves demarcated before the land is thrown open to European or Asiatic settlement. Segregation may be a good policy, but it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to apply in old-established colonies like those of South Africa. The Land Act of 1913 was an attempt to apply the principle by providing for the division of the land into two separate areas, one for the exclusive occupation of natives and the other for the exclusive occupation of non-natives. A commission was appointed to delimit areas for natives in addition to those already reserved for them, and in the meantime natives were deprived of their right to lease or purchase land outside the scheduled areas

without the consent of the Governor-General. Two commissions have made proposals for the definition of the proposed native areas, but in face of the opposition they aroused these have remained in abeyance. The natives complain bitterly of the disproportion between the areas proposed for themselves and those to be set aside for the white races. The Native Department has taken advantage of the clause in the Act allowing the Governor-General to give permission to natives to lease or purchase land outside their areas, and has made it possible for a certain number to acquire land in areas included among those recommended by the commission for native occupation, but not yet allocated—excluding, however, the large Crown lands. The matter can hardly rest where it is to-day. The *Times* correspondent suggests as a compromise, that the scheduled and recommended areas should be regarded as places where the natives may build up some form of political and social life of their own, occupying the land without restraint, and that natives who are in the non-native areas primarily for the benefit of the white man be given some right short of freehold to the land they occupy. The European farmer needs labour; the native needs land, and it should be the policy of every Government to keep him attached to the land. The best interests of all lie in the direction of harmonious co-operation for the purpose of developing to the utmost the possibilities of the soil.

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IT was announced in May last that Sir George Smith, who has been Governor of Nyasaland since 1913, will retire from that office next September. During these ten years Sir George has devoted his energy largely to extending transport facilities and the general opening up of the Protectorate. The War delayed the achievement of his designs, but it will not be long now before the Zambesi is bridged, the railway carried to Lake Nyasa, and uninterrupted communications opened between Nyasaland and Beira. It is stated that the acreage under tea, cotton and tobacco has been increased more than a hundred-fold in Nyasaland during the ten years of Sir George Smith's Governorship.

THE system of Mandates, it seems, is working, and the British Empire is the first of the Powers to be arraigned before the Assembly of the League of Nations ! Under the Covenant the States which were given Mandates are pledged to submit reports of their doings to the Commission upon which the majority of members are drawn from nations which have no Mandate. It was a new thing in the world when representatives of the responsible Governments were cross-examined upon their reports at the meeting of the Commission in 1922—reports which they had, some of them, handed in without scarcely reading them personally, as if it were a mere matter of form. Some of them were inclined to resent the questions as impertinent, but they were quickly reminded of the terms upon which the Mandates were given. Professor Gilbert Murray, who represented Great Britain at the Geneva meeting of the Assembly in 1922, thus describes the incident to which we referred in our opening sentence : “ In the Assembly no one who saw it will ever forget the impression made by the solitary negro delegate from Hayti arraigning the conduct of the Government of South Africa, and thus indirectly of the British Empire, with regard to the Bondelswart rising ; nor the admirable spirit with which the High Commissioner of South Africa and the rest of the British speakers accepted without a murmur the Haytian’s demand for a committee of inquiry. The incident showed that a delegate from a naturally weak state like Hayti had sufficient faith in the League to challenge one of its most important members, and that the British Empire as a whole was ready to carry out its full duty rather than smother up in concealment an action of its own which had gone wrong. As an Englishman, I think it very fortunate that the first complaint was made against Great Britain. I do not feel sure that any other Power would have set such a good example.”

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THE *Times* of June 11th announced, on the authority of Sir Hugh Clifford, that the King had signed Letters Patent granting a new Constitution for Nigeria. Sir Hugh said he hoped on his return to Nigeria in September that one of his first acts would be to preside at

the appointment of the new council. No details are given beyond that it is an attempt to extend to the Colony a Legislative Council similar to that in existence in the Gold Coast.

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THE Governors of Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone have taken good advantage of their present visit to England to enlighten the public as to the problems and progress of West Africa. In particular, Sir F. G. Guggisberg, Governor of the Gold Coast, has done some excellent missionary work. His speeches, reported in *West Africa*, make interesting reading, and are marked by a reasoned optimism and a statesmanlike view of the situation. He reminded the Manchester Chamber of Commerce that the Gold Coast is the wealthiest of the British Crown Colonies—in proportion to its size and population by far the wealthiest. During the past four years, which included three of very acute depression in trade, the Colony increased its bank balance to £2,500,000, and spent between £6,000,000 and £7,000,000 on capital works, such as railways, roads, hospitals and water supplies. The new deep-water harbour, upon which £1,600,000 is being spent, will be ready for opening in two years' time, and will be able to deal with 7,000 tons of merchandise a day. By meeting British merchants and learning their views, and by expounding his own to them, Sir F. G. Guggisberg has done valuable service to the West Coast.

* * * * *

THE question of native education is very much discussed at present. Considerable attention has been paid to the Phelps-Stokes Report, produced by a Commission that visited and inspected educational institutions in many of the African colonies. Dr. Jesse Jones, the head of this commission, has been in London for consultation with the Colonial Governors now on leave. What will come of it all one does not know. The time seems to be ripe for an earnest effort to formulate an educational policy for all British Africa. An Imperial Conference on Education was opened at the Colonial Office at the end of June, and possibly some steps will be taken in this direction.

The subject has figured largely in Sir F. G. Guggisberg's

discourses. In his opinion it is the duty of the Governments to find some means by which they can make valuable citizens of the Empire out of the natives. The only way it can be done is to take them in hand and train their characters. We like the way in which he stresses this point in every speech he makes on the subject. It is also the point that is driven home in the Phelps-Stokes Report. Apart from character training, literary and scientific "education," whether for black or white, is a delusion and a snare.

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DR. J. SCHWETZ has published in *Congo* for March the result of investigations made by himself and his colleagues of the medical staff into the alleged progressive depopulation of the Belgian Congo. He finds that of the children born fifty per cent. survive. He is convinced that there are more people in the Congo than the "census" has recorded, but does not deny that in fact the numbers are diminishing. The chief cause, he says, is epidemic disease, and especially sleeping sickness, "which has depopulated, and goes on depopulating, whole regions of the colony." "Everybody knows," he continues, "that sleeping sickness has been spread through European penetration." But what everyone does not know, and what those who know it do not say, is that the principal cause of the depopulation of the Congo is the European penetration itself. The natives cannot stand "European civilisation" with all its corollaries: portorage, permanent labour, sudden changes of diet, transplantation more or less sudden into another locality—in a word, the recruitment of labourers in one region for work in another. He points out that the Government is on the horns of a dilemma *peu enviable*: they can have a stagnant colony with natives, or a temporary prosperity with a disappearing population—that is to say, with a final catastrophe. What can be done? Fight against epidemic disease—as the Government has decided to do; develop more and more the means for doing away with human portorage—railways, motor and river transport; see that labour recruits are well paid and sufficiently nourished. It is a courageous paper, written entirely without passion as the record of a scientific investigation.

L'Africa Italiana, the Journal of the Italian African Society, reporting the occupation of the headquarters of the Senussi Emir at Agedabia by Italian troops, proclaims that the Italian Government has denounced all agreements hitherto made with the Senussi, and has withdrawn all advantages and privileges conceded to them. The Senussi may henceforth remain in Cirenaica as a religious fraternity and enjoy liberty and protection as long as they confine themselves to the spiritual domain; all political action must cease; and no part of the territory must regard itself as outside the Italian administration.

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In *L'Afrique Française* for May there is the report of a lecture given by M. André van Iseghem, **Elisabethville.** ex-District Commissioner in the Belgian Congo, on "The Birth of a Town in Central Africa." A cynic might say that the plan of the Elisabethville township, reproduced in our contemporary, reminded him somewhat forcibly of the thriving city of Eden that proved such a disappointment to Martin Chuzzlewhit and Mark Tapley. Here it is, with its broad avenues, its Palais de Justice, its Cathedral, its prison and barracks, its parks and factories, all beautifully planned in symmetrical fashion. But Elisabethville does not exist on paper only; it is a city in being. It seems but yesterday that the late Mr. George Grey piloted the Tanganyika Concessions expedition through Rhodesia and discovered afresh the great copper mines in the southern area of the Belgian Congo. The new town has been built less than a mile from where the first camps were erected on the banks of the Lubumbashi. The site was chosen in 1910 by the Governor and laid out on a more elaborate style than even Bulawayo was. There are now in this twelve-year-old city more than 2000 white inhabitants; while about 12,000 natives are accommodated in the adjoining "ville indigène."

BOOKS REVIEWED

The Bakitara. By John Roscoe, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 1923. Pp. xvi + 370. Illustrated. Map. 25s. net.)

WE congratulate Mr. Roscoe on having completed the first instalment of his report of the Mackie ethnological expedition to Central Africa. The people dealt with are the Bakitara—better known to most of us as the Banyoro. It seems strange, by the way, that we should have to wait till now to know that Bakitara is this people's name, the other being merely a nickname given to them by the Baganda. The chief interest of the tribe, from a scientific point of view, is that the dominant section are not Negroes but Negro-Hamites—an offshoot, according to their traditions, from the Gala stock. Commonly known as Bahuma, the ancestors of this aristocracy swept into the country from the north-east (Mr. Roscoe cannot be more precise as to their provenance) and conquered the aborigines, now known as Bahera, or serfs, who were Negroes living by agriculture. The new-comers were pastoral nomads, who lived practically entirely upon milk; if they ate beef, they were prohibited from drinking milk for twelve hours—for milk and meat might not come into contact; vegetable food was taboo. These two peoples settled down together, as lords and serfs, and at first intermarriage between them was forbidden. In later years this prohibition has been largely removed and an intermediate party has grown up; it is to these that the name Banyoro, *i. e.* freemen, is properly applied. Many of the old strict laws and taboos were rapidly forgotten, and the effect of the mixed marriages is apparent also in the physical appearance of the race, though there are still to be found people whose purity of descent from the invaders is traceable in "the early Egyptian or Roman type of their features." Mr. Roscoe discusses the customs of the various sections in turn, with a good deal of repetition which might well have been avoided. He gives a short vocabulary at the end, but does not enter into linguistic questions. As the language now spoken is of the Bantu type, it seems that the invaders must have abandoned their own Hamitic speech and adopted the speech of the aborigines. There are many points in Mr. Roscoe's description which we should like to dwell upon, but here can only recommend our readers to study it for themselves. From the following remark, we conclude

that Mr. Roscoe thinks that the aborigines of Kitara were the first inventors of metal-working: "Years ago the native, in some unknown way, became acquainted with the use of metals, and from this land went forth in early ages a knowledge of iron-working and smelting which revolutionised the world's methods of work" (p. 5). Their methods of working are very similar to those found among tribes further south, but Mr. Roscoe gives no evidence in support of his theory. He has, as our readers know, written several books of this kind, and all of them among the best we have on African tribes. If they have one fault it is that the peoples are described too much like zoological specimens: at the end we know a good deal of their customs and beliefs, but are far from attaining to a knowledge of the people as men and women. There is not a smile in the book. The Bakitara do not live under his treatment: they might all be dead things. We get very little insight into their minds—the why and wherefore of their strange doings. The photos are disappointingly inadequate.

E. W. S.

Yoruba Grammar. By J. A. de Gaye and W. S. Beecroft. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1923. Pp. 96.) *Yoruba Composition.* (Same authors and publishers. Pp. 96. 3s. 6d. each.)

THE first of these two little books was originally published under another title in 1914. The second edition, now before us, has been carefully revised with a view to making it still more useful to students reading for the Yoruba matriculation examination of the Universities of London and Glasgow, and to the Public Officers of Nigeria who have to take a native language examination. To us who have no special knowledge of Yoruba the work appears to be excellently well done. It is clear and concise; the exercises and vocabularies are numerous and well graded; the tones are carefully distinguished. The second book is claimed by the authors as the first of its kind ever published. It is intended to be used in conjunction with the Grammar. It deals with the Syntax—the difficult process of arranging words in sentences to express the speaker's meaning. There are copious exercises and a key is given. One can envy students who have to learn Yoruba with such clear and careful aids.

E. W. S.

A Yao Grammar. By Meredith Sanderson, M.R.C.S. (London: S.P.C.K. 1922. Pp. xii + 211. 10s. 6d. net.)

DR. SANDERSON, of the Nyasaland Medical Service and a member of the African Society, has now published the second

edition of his book, which first appeared in 1916. That a second edition should be called for so quickly—an unusual thing with such books—is a testimony to its usefulness. As a result of further investigations the author has been able to revise the grammar, add some important constructions, and enlarge the vocabulary. He now adopts a modified form of Bleek's classification of the nouns. The chapter on the alphabet has been rewritten. The whole arrangement of the book pleases us much. The only thing we care to criticise here is the making of *ndili*, "I am," the present indicative of the verb *kuwa*, "to be," or, rather, "to become." The two Appendices, dealing with Forms of Address and Relationships, are very useful features of the book. A Key to the Exercises is provided. Altogether a fine piece of work

E. W. S.

Nyasa, The Great Water. By the Ven. William Percival Johnson, D.D. (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. v + 204, map and photographs. 7s. 6d. net.)

THE Bishop of Oxford in his Preface says that this is "a book which no student of 'backward' races and primitive customs can afford to leave unread." We agree, though there is not in it that fullness and precision of treatment which gives the highest value to such books. Archdeacon Johnson has spent a great many years in the service of the U.M.C.A. in Nyasaland, and writes with intimate knowledge of the country and peoples. These are his chapter headings: The Lake, Village Life, Native Agriculture, Fishing and Other Industries, Home Life, The Old Chiefs (1864-84), Wizardry and Superstition, Village Stories, Steamers. The village stories are the part of the book that has most interested us. They are not the usual kind of folk tales, but are narrated as actual incidents. The Archdeacon wrote them down originally for use as illustrations in his religious teaching, but they have a value also as throwing light upon phases of native character, especially upon their pluck and altruistic qualities.

E. W. S.

Folk Tales of the Batonga. By J. R. Fell. (London: Holborn Publishing House, n.d., pp. 247. 3s.)

A COLLECTION of one hundred and three tales, a number of riddles and proverbs made at first hand by a missionary who for many years has worked among the Zambezi Batonga in Northern Rhodesia, and who will be known to many of our readers as the author of an excellent grammar of the language of that people. The native text is given side by side with the

translation. As the book is intended primarily, not for the English public, but for use as a reader in native schools, it has certain limitations which must be allowed for. The translation, for example, is not made for literary effect; we think that in places it might have been more accurate. The proverb *Ba ka sekana mankodio basokwe*, for example, is rendered: "Baboons laugh together in the eye sockets." The meaning surely is that the baboons laugh at each other's beetling brows (or deep eye-sockets), each one mocking at his neighbour's ugliness while he is himself equally ugly. Ordinary readers will have some difficulty in understanding the proverbs, for in their rough English dress many of them are decidedly cryptic. Apart from such minor defects, the book has real value. In many of the tales, Sulwe (the Hare) is the principal personage. No. 17 is strangely reminiscent of the tale of our childhood in which the lion and mouse are mutually helpful. We venture to express the hope that Mr. Fell will give us more tales from his store and will print them in a form more adapted to English readers. We warmly commend his purpose in introducing such a book as this into the mission schools.

E. W. S.

A Student's Philosophy of Religion. By W. K. Wright, Ph.D.
(London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922; pp. vii + 472.
20s.)

NOR a few members of the African Society are engaged in the study of the customs and religion of the native races. Such students feel the need of a text-book which will acquaint them with the most recent conclusions reached by scholars who study religion as a universal element in the life of man. Considerable advances have of late been made in this field of investigation, especially in regard to the rudimentary forms of religion, and it is no longer safe to accept the views of authors who wrote their books ten years ago. The time was ripe for a new presentation of the subject which should take into account both the findings of psychological science and the first-hand researches of anthropologists all over the world. This is what Dr. Wright has attempted to do in the work now before us. It is a work that we can heartily recommend to our members who are studying the religion of the African. He treats the subject from a point of view that will be novel to many readers. This is his definition: "Religion is the endeavour to secure the conservation of socially recognised values through specific actions that are believed to evoke some agency different from the ordinary ego of the individual, or from other merely human beings, and that imply a feeling of

dependence upon this agency." Dr. Wright's careful description, and psychological explanation, of *mana* concepts will be very useful to readers, for it is not too much to say that the recognition of these as a vital element has revolutionised the study of religion. The chapters which will be of most immediate use to readers of this JOURNAL are the earliest, in which he deals first with "religion in its lowest terms," *i. e.* that of the Australian aborigines, then with the religion of the Todas and Melanesians, and after this passes to a higher stage, and here selects the religion of the Baganda for special study. His copious references and lists of books for further reading add considerably to the value of the book. It should be in the hands of every missionary and student of religion.

E. W. S.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II., Part II.
(London Institution. 6s.)

THIS number contains four articles of African interests. Mr. H. R. Palmer writes on "Hausa Legend and Earth Pyramids in the Western and Central Sudan." When questioned about these pyramids, native authorities on tribal tradition expressed doubt as to whether they were tombs, and to set the matter at rest the Emir of Katsina had two of them excavated, with the result that they were discovered to be unmistakable burial places. Shaykh M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq writes on "Arabic Literature since the beginning of the Nineteenth Century." Lord Raglan contributes some grammatical notes on, and a vocabulary of the Lotuka language of Uganda, and Miss Alice Werner contributes a translation of a poem entitled "Utendi wa Ayubu." Miss Werner has a complimentary but embarrassing habit of always supposing that her readers are as learned as herself. She gives no indication as to the language in which the original is written, but the reviewer, with very slight knowledge of the subject, believes it to be Swahili.

Journal of the Gold Coast Agricultural Society, Vol. I., No. 1.
(C. Fairweather, Victoriaborg, Accra. 6d.)

THIS, the Society's first-born, is an excellent number. Mr. R. H. Bunting writes on "Agriculture Research on the Gold Coast," Mr. H. A. Dade on "Fungi and Plant Disease," Mr. W. Beal on stock-breeding, and a number of articles deal with the cultivation and preparation of cocoa. There is a lengthy article on "Rural Credit Associations in the Philippines," where conditions somewhat analogous to those on the Gold Coast prevail.

Across Equatorial Africa. By F. W. H. Migeod. (London : Heath Cranton, Ltd., 1923; pp. 397; map, illustrations. 30s. net.)

MR. MIGEOD is well known to many readers of this JOURNAL as the author of valuable works on the languages of West Africa. The present book is a record of a double journey across the continent. Leaving Liverpool on 5th Nov., 1919, he arrived back in England on 26th April, 1922. Between those dates he crossed Africa from west to east as near as possible along the equator, and back from east to west roughly on the line 5° lat. south. We have been very interested by his narrative, but find it very difficult to review. It is written in the form of a diary, and seems to be a transcription of his daily jottings. We wish that he could have given us two or three chapters summarising his experiences. There are many matters upon which we should like to have his considered judgment. As it is, one cannot see the wood for the trees. Mr. Migeod is interested chiefly in ethnology, and his book is largely made up of notes upon the tribes through which he passed. The information he gives was mostly derived from Europeans whom he met—traders, Government officials, etc.—or was obtained from natives by the assistance of interpreters who seem often to have been unsatisfactory; his material is not of the highest value, therefore, but is interesting and helps to trace the distribution of certain customs and industries. The author collected and illustrates the tribal marks of the peoples, and this is a notable feature of the book. He also gives specimens of the languages which will help scholars to check their knowledge derived from other sources. There are numerous misprints and other signs of hasty work. This book shows the comparative ease and rapidity with which it is now possible to cross Africa.

E. W. S.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,

It is to be hoped that in addition to this interesting paper on the use of drums in Ashanti we may have comparative studies from other parts of the continent. The connection with African music and phonetics should be of particular value.

In open savannah lands, as in Eastern Africa, the use of the drum is more often confined to permanent *sets* of drum-beats associated with certain clans or chieftainships and to *formal* "calls" dealing with regular recurring phases of tribal life, such as the war call, fire call, council call, hunting call, dance-beat and death-beat. The Chief's drum-beat often served the joint purpose of a rallying war-cry and an armorial bearing. In the kingdom of Karagwe the drum Nyabatama is believed to hold the *genius regni*.

On advancing to attack the Germans (during their offensive of 20/11/14 in "G.E.A.") with a small detachment of raw Baganda levies stiffened by a few K.A.R., the Baganda begged to have their war-beat sounded during the action. Whenever one heard the "language" of the drum it was certainly wild and violent, but it was merely the repetition of the same set-piece. The drum was soon shot through and ceased to function. There was then a noticeable depression among the men in the attack. Speaking generally, there is little or no conception of any complex phonetic code capable of transmission of varying compositions of words or sentences. Cheerful individuals often invent imitative jingles or a comic verse which they repeat when they hear "the lure of the little drum." We do the same for our bugle calls, many of which originated from the Portuguese. In these cases it is sometimes a temptation to ascribe the "lilt" of the drum to an imitation of the spoken word. But on careful inquiry one often finds that such words for the same drum-beat vary enormously, are purely individual and extempore, and have promiscuously different meanings.

One notices that in open mountain country where still, clear air or echo permit of the use of other means of distance-communication, as smoke signals or the human voice—as in French Chari, Portuguese West and Belgian East Africa (*mandate*)—the use of the drum is more frequently the prerogative of the Chief or Sultan alone and is very little used as a "language." Leaving Eastern Africa, marching westwards from the south of the Edward Nyanza, there are no organised drum signals in the equatorial forest until one reaches the OSO, where it forms a boundary of the *territoire* of Walikale. From the river I sent a drum-message to Walikale, nine days' march away, announcing my arrival (as a matter of courtesy) and asking if the white man was at the *poste*. I watched the message being despatched at noon and got a reply before sunset the following day. The message passed through two tribes who spoke different languages and were not bilingual.

Yours faithfully,

J. E. T. PHILIPPS.

*The Army and Navy Club,
Pall Mall.*

23rd March, 1923.

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